

"Appropriate Musics for that Time":  
Oratorio in the Exchange of Power at the Portuguese Court (1707–1807)

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Danielle M. Kuntz

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**Dedication**

À cidade do meu coração, Lisboa.  
Ao Andrew, minha casa.

## Abstract

Serving largely to replace operatic performances during religious seasons such as Lent, the oratorio arose as an important component of court musical life across early modern Europe. By the eighteenth century, the Portuguese court likewise employed the oratorio as edifying Lenten entertainment in its royal palaces and theaters. Nonetheless, the scholarly literature has largely neglected the oratorio as a distinct focus of study in the Portuguese context. In part, this is due to the genre's existence in a sort of conceptual "twilight zone" between secular entertainment and sacred devotion. Portuguese musicological scholarship has thus treated the oratorio as a minor annex to more narrowly defined secular and sacred genres—an inconsequential extension of both operatic and liturgical repertoires. Yet scholars of European oratorio more broadly have demonstrated that the genre frequently served the representational interests of court patrons through precisely the complex and conspicuous blend of earthly entertainment and religious expression uniquely exemplified in the genre. This study centers on that liminal musico-dramatic space at the Portuguese court and demonstrates that royal patrons in Portugal both recognized and specifically exploited the potential for meaning and power embodied in the genre's existence at the edges of politics, religion, and drama.

In applying critical pressure to the marginalization of oratorio in Portuguese musicological scholarship, this dissertation draws together a large body of archival and library documentation—including manuscript musical scores, printed libretti, royal financial documents, correspondence, and contemporary printed descriptions of court life—to provide a comprehensive analysis of oratorio sponsorship by Portuguese court

patrons across 100 years. Identifying four distinct phases of production, I argue that the oratorio facilitated deeply politicized artistic expressions of courtly power in profoundly religious terms as each patron redefined the representational interests of the court. Indeed, I contend that those terms became especially important as the court's claims to absolute power were challenged at various turns across the eighteenth century by shifting cultural interests, the devastation of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, and the increasing political discontent leading to the French Invasions and flight of the court to Brazil in 1807.

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## PREFACE

### Abbreviations

#### *Archives and Libraries*

BR-Rn	Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro
CDN-Ttfl	University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto
D-B	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Berlin
D-Mbs	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Munich
I-Bc	Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna, Bologna
I-Rsc	Conservatorio Santa Cecilia, Biblioteca Musicale Governativa, Rome
P-Cug	Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Coimbra
P-Cul	Faculdade de Letras da Universidade, Coimbra
P-EVp	Biblioteca Pública, Évora
P-La	Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon
P-Lac	Academia das Ciências, Biblioteca, Lisbon
P-Lam	Arquivo Municipal, Lisbon
P-Lant	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
P-Ln	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon
P-Ltdm	Teatro Nacional D. Maria II, Lisbon
US-CAh	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA
US-Wc	The Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington D. C.

#### *Other Abbreviations:*

Cód.	Códice (codice)
Cx.	Caixa (box)
doc.	document
fol.	folio
Lv.	Livro (book)
mç.	maço (packet)
Res.	Reservados (Reserved Collection)

### Notes on Transcriptions of Printed and Manuscript Sources

#### *Text Transcriptions*

I have modified transcriptions of texts by inserting letters where necessary to clarify meaning. All editorial changes are marked by brackets. I have not adjusted early modern Portuguese or Spanish texts to modern spelling where meaning remains clear (e.g., abuzo versus abuso). In some cases, I have inserted modern spellings in brackets following the original to clarify meaning (e.g., *Embidia* [Envidia]). Standard English spellings are used for common places (e.g., Lisbon in place of Lisboa). I also use English versions of names

for characters under discussion (e.g., Judith versus Giuditta), but I maintain the spelling in the original language in transcriptions of libretti.

Throughout the dissertation, I indicate the expansion of abbreviations with brackets. I have not expanded the following conventional abbreviations from Portuguese.

D.	Dom/Dona
Ill.mo	Illustrissimo
Ex.mo	Excellentissimo
S.M.F.	Sua Magestade Fidelissima
V.Ex.	Vossa Excelência
V.M.	Vossa Magestade

#### *Editions of Musical Examples*

My editions of musical examples for *La Giuditta* (Francisco António de Almeida) were prepared from the manuscript score. I have maintained original markings and figured bass as closely as possible, while adjusting the music to modern clef notation.

#### **Note on Currency**

The principal monetary unit in eighteenth-century Portugal was the *real* (plural: *reis*). Portuguese account books rendered totals exclusively in *reis*, dividing large numbers between the hundreds thousands place by the symbol of a circle crossed by two diagonal lines (in scholarship, the \$ symbol has stood in for the original symbol), while the hundred thousand and millions place was separated by a colon. Thus, 1:000\$000 = 1,000,000.

## INTRODUCTION

### The Challenge of Portuguese Sacred Dramatic Music

On June 17, 1782, the director of the Portuguese royal theaters, João António Pinto da Silva, wrote to Diogo de Noronha, the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, requesting his recommendations for oratorios and other music appropriate for performance at the Portuguese court during the Lenten season. Pinto da Silva sent the request at the order of Portuguese Queen Maria I, since, according to the director:

Our Queen, having news of many sacred musical works sung there [in Rome], as much by the Fathers of the Congregation [of the Oratorio], as in other parts, wishes for Your Excellency to send . . . those works for which Your Excellency has the best information, because, as you well know, always in Lent we have the days of São José and São Bento, and we are totally lacking Oratorios and appropriate Musics for that time.<sup>1</sup>

Noronha replied some months later, sending a list of oratorios that were available from which the queen might select some works to be sent to the Portuguese court.<sup>2</sup> Pinto da Silva marked the queen's choices on the list sent by Noronha, selecting Giuseppe Anfossi's *Giuseppe riconosciuto* and *Sant'Elena al calvario*, Giovanni Battista Casali's

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<sup>1</sup> P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 2989, fol. 87v. "[A] Raynha Nossa Senhora tendo notícia da muitas Musicas sagradas que ali se cantam, tanto nos P.<sup>es</sup> da Congregaçam, como em outras partes quer que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> me remeta . . . as de que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> ali tiver melhor informação; porque bem sabe que sempre na Quaresma temos os dias de São José, e de São Bento, e estamos totalmente desprovidos de Oratórias e Músicas próprias daquelle tempo."

<sup>2</sup> This letter and list are located in P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3505 (unnumbered papers). Dated August 8, 1782, the complete list is transcribed in Chapter 3. Responding on September 16, Pinto da Silva writes, "Recebi a carta de V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> datada de 8 de Agosto próximo precedente, e com ella a Nota dos Oratorios, que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> me remeteu, dos quaes fez S. Mag.e escolha dos que constão da Relação junta" [I received the letter from Your Excellency, dated 8 August, and with it the note regarding the Oratorios that you sent to me, from which Her Majesty selected those that are included on the adjoining list]. P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 2989, fol. 89v–90r.

*Salomone Ré d' Israele* and a four voice *Pastorale*, Antonio Sacchini's *Ester*, Giovanni Battista Borghi's *Il trionfo di Mardoccheo*, and Francesco Digne's *L'Abigaille* and *Gionata*.<sup>3</sup> All the selected compositions were among those performed in the famous oratory of Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome, one of the most important sites for oratorio performance and premieres throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Upon the arrival of the manuscripts to the Portuguese court, the Royal Highnesses examined the works with their "usual curiosity." Upon trying them out, however, they agreed that though the works were certainly of the best quality available, "already in Italy one has lost the taste for composing and that presently there are not composers so good as those that we have here [in Portugal]."<sup>5</sup>

This correspondence highlights several issues important to the study of oratorio at the Portuguese court. First, Pinto da Silva's letter affirms the degree to which such genres were considered necessary to the needs of court musical ceremonial by the late eighteenth

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<sup>3</sup> Those works not selected by the queen include: a Passion oratorio by Niccolò Jommelli, Niccolò Piccini's *La morte d'Abele*, Antonio Sacchini's *Gioas* and *S. Filippo Neri*, Giuseppe Anfossi's *La Betulia*, Giovanni Battista Casali's *La benedizione di Giacobbe*, *L'adorazione de' magi* and two cantatas by the same composer (one on *S. Filippo Neri*; the other on *L'Assunta*), as well as a Passion oratorio and setting of *L'Isacco* by a composer identified only as "Melinesch."

<sup>4</sup> See Joyce L. Johnson, *Roman Oratorio, 1770–1800: The Repertory at Santa Maria in Vallicella* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 2989, fol. 98v. Dated May 19, 1783: "[R]ecebi por via de João Piaggio o Caixote da Música, que V. Ex.a mandou, a qual passando logo ao poder de Suas Altezas a examinaram com a sua costumada curiosidade, e acharam o mesmo, que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> tem avisado, e que aqui se exprimenta, de que já em Italia se tem perdido o gosto de Compor, e que presentemente não há Mestres tão bons como que Nos aqui temos" [I received by way of João Piaggio the box of Music that Your Excellency sent, which passed immediately into the power of Their Highnesses, who examined the music with the usual curiosity, and they agree, as Your Excellency has advised, having tried out the works here, that already in Italy the taste for composing has been lost and presently there are not composers so good as those that we have here].

century. Second, the involvement of the queen and other royalty in actively selecting, examining, and assessing the Italian works speaks to a notable degree of involvement on the part of the Portuguese monarchy and implies that whatever works would actually come to be performed at the court were expected to meet certain qualifications (whatever those qualifications may have been). Finally, in rejecting the whole of the Italian works and cheekily claiming Portuguese musical superiority, the outcome calls for a reevaluation of Italian musical reception in Portugal. Such correspondence displays unwillingness on the part of the Portuguese court to accept musical works, or even models, that no longer seemed to fit their needs. In fact, in the years that followed this correspondence, the court of Maria I sponsored performances of two Lenten oratorios each year on the days of S. José and S. Bento (March 19 and 21, respectively), but the works were almost exclusively original settings by Portuguese composers of new dramas by court librettist Gaetano Martinelli.<sup>6</sup> No doubt the queen and her consort would have examined these new Portuguese works with the "usual curiosity," as well.

The obvious investment of the late eighteenth-century Portuguese court in the production of oratorio begs numerous questions: to what degree do the resulting works reflect the interests of their patrons? Insofar as can be determined, what were those interests, and can they be read in the existing music and text of the works? If such concerns can be determined, who might have understood the encoded messages or patterns of symbolism and meaning presented in those works, and what purpose did they serve? In what ways did the production of the genre of oratorio uniquely contribute to

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<sup>6</sup> Discussed in Chapter 3.

these goals, as opposed to or in conjunction with other dramatic genres? How does this phase in oratorio production compare to those that came before and would come after, and how might that comparison reveal further the goals of each phase of production and patronage? It is precisely these questions that drive the current study.

This dissertation seeks to draw the production of oratorio by means of artistic patronage at the Portuguese court into the cultural history of that institution, especially insofar as the genre might be seen to reflect the exchange of power in which the court engaged both within the country and on a broader European scale. In proposing a cultural study of patronage and oratorio at the Portuguese court, however, Pinto da Silva's claim that the court was "totally lacking oratorios" first deserves further qualification. As this study will demonstrate, a wide variety of eighteenth-century documents attest to the introduction of oratorio into Portuguese court musical life during the early eighteenth century. Such genres were not only actively patronized but grew in both frequency of performance and importance in court spectacle throughout the century.

Nonetheless, it is perhaps unsurprising that the queen considered whatever collection of works the court possessed in 1782 inadequate according to increasing performance needs, as well as, apparently, current musical taste. Moving away from the more extravagant operatic productions of her father King José I (r. 1750–1777), the queen promoted more modest dramatic musical productions. This new focus underscored the queen's political agenda, as well, in driving the court away from the post-earthquake Enlightenment-era politics of José I's secretary of state, the Marquês de Pombal, while emphasizing a renewed interest in the court's commitment to the Catholic faith. In both



senses, political and musical, the court of Maria I returned to a model initially established under her grandfather King João V (r. 1707–1750) at the beginning of the century, where all court spectacle and politics were underpinned by an emphasis on Catholic piety and devotion.<sup>7</sup> The period under João V to 1750, however, remained a tragic specter of the court's past—an irretrievable Golden Age in Portuguese cultural memory. On November 1, 1755, one of the strongest earthquakes ever recorded in European history reduced the entire center city of Lisbon—including the royal palace and many of the court's resources and institutions—to ruins.<sup>8</sup> In returning to the ideological foundations of her grandfather's pre-earthquake court, Maria I probably had little of her liking to choose from since the vast majority of musical documents from that early period were destroyed. In any case, prior to the tradition that developed under Maria I in the 1780s, oratorios had never held such a pride of place in court ceremonial, haphazardly interchanged over the years with other unstaged theatrical genres, such as serenata. Moreover, the oratorio, as it was produced in relation to the Portuguese court, was not a static, defined genre from its inception, but rather shifted in conception according to the needs of court ceremony, resulting in various and sometimes conflicting forms and phases of development across the century. By 1782, Maria I likely found the court's current collection of oratorios (what few works may have survived the earthquake) outdated or altogether outside of her court's ceremonial goals.

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<sup>7</sup> A general English-language treatment of the political and artistic agendas of the three absolute monarchs mentioned here—João V, José I, and Maria I—can be found in Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973). Studies more specific to each monarch will be cited throughout the dissertation.

<sup>8</sup> See the Introduction to Part Two for literature on the 1755 earthquake.

It is precisely the dual loss of sources and changing genre conception across the eighteenth century that requires the interdisciplinary approach taken in this study. In part, this approach is one of necessity: as noted by many previous scholars of the Portuguese eighteenth century, the loss of documentation suffered as a result of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake makes a documentary study, especially of the first half of the century, difficult at best. Relying solely on complete works (surviving both in text and music) would be impossible, and even accounts of oratorio performances in letters, printed news publications, and existing libretti, may never provide a complete and accurate picture of the genre's development in that early period, since it is impossible to know the exact extent of the sources lost. Furthermore, the surviving oratorio sources from across the Portuguese eighteenth century often appear entirely unrelated, written not only in different languages (Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian) but also for entirely different contexts of performance (court, church, and public theaters).

This study draws together, for the first time, the vast documentation related to oratorio production in association with the Portuguese court—including manuscript musical scores and printed libretti, royal historical documents (correspondence, financial records), and printed descriptions of court life (news journals, diaries, memorial publications)—into an interdisciplinary study of music, artistic patronage, religion, and politics. While other studies have treated Portuguese oratorio in one or more of its varied forms, for reasons to be discussed, none of these works constitutes a comprehensive study of the genre, its repertoire, and its cultural significance within the Portuguese court context. Nonetheless, my work owes a debt of gratitude to countless foundational studies,

which have compiled, since the mid-nineteenth-century, documents related to Portuguese oratorio, interspersing them among histories, chronologies, and singular accounts of both secular and sacred music in Portugal.<sup>9</sup> My study synthesizes the work of this previous scholarship and subjects it for the first time to detailed examination.

The resulting work offers, therefore, both a comprehensive synthesis of the genre's production by Portuguese court institutions and a musicological study of those genres within the exchange of power at the eighteenth-century Portuguese court, focusing on the oratorio as a cultural object and a cultural practice that can be examined meaningfully at the junctures of historical understanding that shaped its conception, composition, performance, and reception. I believe that it is precisely at these junctures that court interest in oratorio and the possible reflection of the motives and objectives of the works' patrons are most patently revealed. Positioning the works within a broader cultural history, this study demonstrates that not only did oratorio function in the musical celebration in court ceremony, but that oratorio engaged in the constant exchange of

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<sup>9</sup> The most thorough previous treatments of oratorio repertoire in Portugal are found in studies of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Portuguese opera, such as Manuel Carlos de Brito's *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and David Cranmer's "Opera in Portugal 1793–1828: A Study in Repertoire and its Spread" (PhD diss., University of London, 1997). Scholars of liturgical music have also recently documented the relationship of oratorio to sacred repertoires in Portugal; see, for instance, Cristina Isabel Videira Fernandes's "O sistema produtivo da música sacra em Portugal no final do Antigo Regime: a Capela Real e a Patriarcal entre 1750 e 1807," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2010). More recently, Iskrena Yordanova's "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal: contexto de criação e edição crítica de 'Morte d'Abel' de P. A. Avondano (1714–1782)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2013) provided the first extensive treatment of oratorios written and produced by a Portuguese composer. These studies will be cited and discussed extensively throughout the dissertation; important early foundational works are cited below.

power that characterizes the whole of Portuguese eighteenth century as the country's last absolute monarchs struggled to define their role within Iberian and European traditions, reconstruct their cultural identity following one of the most devastating natural disasters in history, and maintain control of a rising bourgeoisie under the pressure of the impending French Revolution. In some of these contexts, oratorio helped to maintain and uphold the authority that defined it; in others, it sought to usurp it.

*Peripheral Traditions and the Limits of Sacred and Secular*

Oratorio, broadly defined as a musical drama on a religious theme, went by a variety of names throughout its development both in Portugal and across Europe.<sup>10</sup> Beyond the more common designation "oratorio," such terminology includes *drama sacra*, *componimento sacro*, and even serenata. In fact, contemporary sources often refer to a single work by multiple, sometimes conflicting terms, such that financial documents from the archive of the Casa Real (Royal House) in Lisbon's Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo note the rehearsal of a "Serenata, or Oratorio for the day of S. José" on March 14, 1772.<sup>11</sup> Conflicting uses of terminology—"serenata," for instance, typically refers to a shorter, secular work, and "oratorio" a longer, sacred one—will be discussed as appropriate throughout the text, as such conflicts often reveal contemporary thought on

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<sup>10</sup> The most complete treatment of the history of oratorio in Europe is Howard E. Smither's four-volume *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977–2000).

<sup>11</sup> "Serenata, ou Oratoria do dia de S. Joze." P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100 (unnumbered papers). The record cited here is for a rehearsal; the work was then performed on March 19, 1772.

genre definition. This study, while specifically seeking out works called "oratorio," takes into account all works that, despite a wide variety of designations, treat the dramatic portrayal of sacred subjects in a musical style that roughly parallels contemporary opera. Like contemporary opera, in general, such settings in eighteenth-century Portugal comprise a dramatic work of significant length in one or two structural parts or acts with two or more solo vocal parts (with occasional ensembles) and orchestral accompaniment. Through largely recitative and aria forms, the musical setting sought to depict the interactions of characters in a sacred drama (whether based on a known sacred narrative or a more general allegory) but was differentiated from contemporary opera, most importantly, by an unstaged presentation.

First appearing in reference to a musical work in Portugal in 1719, the genre designation "oratorio" does not appear in Portuguese dictionaries and encyclopedias until 1789 when Antonio de Moraes Silva's *Diccionario da lingua portugueza* defines the term: "Drama on a sacred topic; . . . story taken from the Scriptures, 'to perform an *oratorio*.'" <sup>12</sup> Part of the difficulty in defining the genre, even in its own time, no doubt stemmed from the different forms that the genre took even in its earliest appearances from 1719 to 1723, when two very different applications of the term "oratorio"—one rooted in older Spanish sacred devotional music, one based on newer Italian operatic styles—were being developed simultaneously by Portuguese composers, both in Portugal

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<sup>12</sup> "Drama de assumpto sagrado; . . . historia tirada da Escritura, 'representar um *oratorio*.'" António de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da lingua portugueza—recompilado dos vocabularios impressos ate agora, e nesta segunda edição novamente emendado e muito acrescentado*, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Typographia Lacerdina, [1789] 1813), 2:369. There is no indication that there was any sort of non-musical dramatic genre called "oratorio" in Portugal.

and abroad.<sup>13</sup> Unlike opera, which early producers of Portuguese dictionaries such as Raphael Bluteau claimed had moved organically from the Italians outward across Europe and was characterized by its recitation in musical tone and use of stage machinery, oratorio was not so easy to define.<sup>14</sup> In Portugal, the Congregation of the Oratorio of St. Phillip Neri did not introduce the genre, as it had in Italy and Spain (discussed below). By the time Moraes wrote his dictionary in 1789, however, the oratorio had for at least half a century been modeled on contemporary Italian styles, especially at court where Italian theatrical genres functioned in ceremonial and royal celebrations of all sorts (name days and birthdays, especially). Perhaps Maria I's more recent regularization of performance and patronage of new works, as indicated in the opening correspondence, also helped to definitively include the work as a fixed, if extremely simplified, dramatic genre.

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Iberian musicologists were well aware of the presence of sacred dramatic genres in Portuguese court musical productions from the early eighteenth century, such as early studies by Teófilo Braga, Joaquim José Marques, and Gustavo Matos Sequeira, and include the works, if somewhat indiscriminately, in preliminary attempts to establish a history of theatrical and operatic productions in Portugal.<sup>15</sup> While these early studies all include Portuguese oratorios in chronologies of

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<sup>13</sup> Discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this study, respectively.

<sup>14</sup> Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulário português & latino: aulico, anatomico, architectonico...* 8 vols. (Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712–1728). Moraes Silva defines opera similarly.

<sup>15</sup> See Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Fontes para a história da ópera em Portugal no século XVIII (1708–1793)," in *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1989), 77–94; Teófilo Braga, *A baixa comedia e a opera no seculo XVIII*, vol.

theatrical works across the century, they provide little discussion in the way of the genre's function within the larger scheme of court and public theatrical productions. Subsequent projects, such as those by Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, continued to include Portuguese oratorio productions in chronologies of the period through the turn of the nineteenth century, when court music draws to an end with the opening of Lisbon's Teatro de São Carlos, though his study also provides little in the way of conceptual analysis of the oratorio and its role in the Teatro de São Carlos' yearly productions.<sup>16</sup> Though such early works demonstrate the lack of methodical study characteristic of musicological scholarship of that period, such early studies of Portuguese theater, nonetheless, prove relatively creditable in their identification of the works that were performed across the eighteenth century in Portugal, most of which today are supported by existing printed libretti and/or musical manuscripts.

As Portuguese musicology, in general, saw a resurgence of interest in the late 1980s and 1990s, studies of secular theatrical genres again resurfaced as a main focal point, led by Manuel Carlos de Brito's 1989 *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>17</sup> With Brito's study covering the period only up to 1793, David Cranmer's 1997 doctoral thesis *Opera in Portugal 1793–1828* and Mário Moreau's *O Teatro de S. Carlos* (1999) served to examine the tradition of operatic performance in the subsequent period.

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3, *Historia do theatro portuguez* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1871); Joaquim José Marques, *Cronologia da ópera em Portugal* (Lisbon: A Artística, 1947), first published as a series of articles in the *Arte Musical* of 1874; Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Teatro de outros tempos. Elementos para a história do teatro português* (Lisbon: Livraria Coelho), 1933.

<sup>16</sup> Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Teatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Tipographia Castro e Irmão, 1883).

<sup>17</sup> Cited above.

These studies in many ways continued the work of earlier scholarship while subject that scholarship and a vast array of documentary sources to rigorous musicological study.<sup>18</sup> Brito's work, the first comprehensive monograph to address operatic performance in Portugal following the earlier generation of scholars, included oratorios in the chronology of works from the early eighteenth century to 1793, and Cranmer and Moreau provide similar chronologies for works performed at the Teatro de São Carlos in the subsequent period (1793–1834). Neither Brito nor Cranmer or Moreau address these oratorio performances in any direct way in their studies, except in rare references to a particular work, or generically as a replacement for opera during Lent.

In recent years, much scholarship has also continued to fill out the complicated musical histories that inform the production of oratorio in Portugal as part of sacred repertoire, according to court performance contexts. Rui Cabral Lopes's study of villancicos and early eighteenth-century Spanish paraliturgical music at the Portuguese court (1640–1716), and Cristina Fernandes's institutional study of sacred music at the court in subsequent periods of the eighteenth century, for example, each provide valuable contextual analysis for the various phases of oratorio production that occurred in Portugal across the century.<sup>19</sup> Among both studies of secular and sacred Portuguese court music, however, oratorio continually falls in something of a conceptual "twilight zone": the genre at once seems too "sacred" for extensive consideration in operatic repertoires, but

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<sup>18</sup> See Cranmer citation above; Mário Moreau, *O teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Hugon, 1999).

<sup>19</sup> Rui Miguel Cabral Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa (1640–1716): o testemunho das fontes textuais," 2 vols. (PhD diss, Universidade de Évora, 2006); see Fernandes citation above.



also too "secular" for extensive consideration in liturgical repertoires.

Spread across various Portuguese-language chronologies and histories such as these, English-language musicological studies of European oratorio have struggled to include Portuguese contributions to the genre in the scholarship of the past thirty years. Such genres, for example, fall outside the purview of even the most detailed histories of sacred dramatic music in Europe. Howard Smither's monumental *A History of the Oratorio* dedicates several short sections to oratorio traditions in Spain, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden, and Russia, as far as could be determined at the time of his writing.<sup>20</sup> For Portugal, this wasn't very much, since Brito had not yet published *Opera in Portugal*, and the earlier studies of Marques and Benevides, for instance, seem to have remained outside the scope of even the Portuguese scholars that Smither consulted in completing his study. Smither's section is only about three pages long, but working with the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon, he was able to provide basic information about the earliest oratorio sources (1719–1723) and several Portuguese translations of Italian libretti, perhaps *teatro de cordel* prints, which were sold publically in Portugal and may or may not have been performed in the public theaters later in the eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, these two phases of oratorio history in Portugal are perhaps the least characteristic of the genre's production and development as a whole, which strongly focused on the court, as exemplified under the period of Maria I's rule. Smither's current Grove Music Online entry for "Oratorio" notes generically that Italian oratorio, along

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<sup>20</sup> Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, vol. 3, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); see section entitled "The Portuguese Oratorio" on pages 612–614.

<sup>21</sup> On the *teatro de cordel* prints, see Chapter 4.

with opera, made its way to the remotest parts of Europe over the course of the eighteenth century, including Spain and Portugal. Of course, without sufficient study to date, no attempt is made to detail the development of the genre in Portugal, though some discussion is made regarding the relationship of Spanish and Italian traditions.<sup>22</sup>

No English-language scholarship has attempted to fill the gap left by Smither in the more than thirty years since his book's publication, due also to the continued neglect and peripheral status of the Iberian Peninsula in European musicology. Portuguese musicology's late start and slow development, a trend well noted by Brito in 1984, means that even today musicological resources in Portugal, as well as in Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries, lack the systematic studies long developed in other parts of Europe.<sup>23</sup> Though Spain has made slight gains in the traditional narrative of the Western musical canon in recent decades, Portugal remains strongly marginalized, despite the consistency with which Portuguese composers contributed to the European cultural scene of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>22</sup> Howard E. Smither, "Oratorio," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford University Press), accessed April 18, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20397>.

<sup>23</sup> Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Musicology in Portugal Since 1960," *Acta Musicologica* 56, no. 1 (January–June 1984), 29–47. A recent editorial by Rogério Budasz noted the trailing of Portuguese musicological research, especially in Brazil: "It is easy to dismiss Iberian and Latin American musicology as too positivistic – as I often hear – but we actually need even more archival work and manuscript studies. In spite of the large quantity of eighteenth-century music manuscripts scattered through dozens of archives in Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, we do not have enough editions, catalogues or even biographies. Even the work done by a handful of musicologists of previous generations needs to be systematically reassessed." *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8, no. 1 (2011), 5–8.

In recent years, oratorio traditions have gained increasing attention in Spanish-language scholarship, largely led by the work of María Teresa Ferrer Ballester. Ballester's 1993 discovery of early eighteenth-century oratorio manuscripts by Spanish composer António Teodoro Ortells led to subsequent editions and publications that preliminarily outlined the earliest known compositional tradition of oratorio in Spain in that period.<sup>24</sup> The 1906 monograph of J. R. Carreras y Bulbena, an early twentieth-century Spanish musicologist whose interest in oratorio gave some early attention to that genre in the context of Spain, as well, provided a foundational basis for the work of Ballester and her contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> Since the 1990s, other Spanish musicologists have continued to unearth the tradition of Spanish oratorio that existed across the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially Xavier Dauffi's work on Catalanian oratorio, and Jaume Garau i

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<sup>24</sup> María Teresa Ferrer Ballester, "El oratorio barroco hispánico: localización de fuentes musicales anteriores a 1730," *Revista de musicología* 15 (1992), 209–220. Ballester led the production of a critical edition of Ortell's existing oratorio, as well as a recording. See, respectively: Antonio Teodoro Ortells, *Oratorio a la Pasión de Cristo Nuestro Señor: año 1706*, ed. María Teresa Ferrer Ballester (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2000), and Antonio Teodoro Ortells, *Oratorio sacro a la Pasión de Cristo Nuestro Señor* (Valencia, 1706), Capella de Ministrers with Olga Pitarch, Patricia Llorens, Lola Bosom, Antoni Aragón, and Jordi Ricart, directed by Carles Magraner, text and introductory notes by María Teresa Ferrer Ballester ([Valencia]: Licanus, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> José Rafael Carreras y Bulbena, *El oratorio musical desde su origen hasta nuestros días* (Barcelona: Tip. "L'Avenç," 1906). María Montserrat Sánchez Siscart also contributed to the initial study of Spanish oratorio in "Aportaciones sobre el oratorio español en el siglo XVIII," *Culturas musicales del Mediterráneo y sus ramificaciones. Revista de musicología* 16, no. 5 (1997), 2874–2880. Ballester also explored the integration of Italian and Spanish styles in Spanish oratorio in "El texto como nexo de unión del estilo italiano y español en el proceso de formación del oratorio español," in *Música y literatura en la Península Ibérica (1600–1750): actas del congreso internacional Valladolid, 20–21 y 22 de febrero, 1995*, ed. María Antonia Virgili Blanquet, Germán Vega García-Luengos, and Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 319–324 (Valladolid [Spain]: Universidad de Valladolid, 1997).

Amengual and Joan Parets i Serra's study of Mallorcan oratorios in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>26</sup> Recent studies of Spanish oratorio, still led by Ballester, have developed significantly the understanding of Spanish oratorio productions from analytical, contextual, and cultural perspectives, while at the same time promoting modern premieres of Spanish works.<sup>27</sup>

Though Portuguese oratorio has yet not seen a movement in scholarship such as that catalyzed by Ballester in Spain, oratorio is making rapid gains as a new focus area in

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<sup>26</sup> Xavier Dauí's scholarship is extensive, and includes, more general studies of Catalan oratorio, such as "Bases para el estudio de la historia del oratorio en Catalunya en el siglo XVIII," *Revista de musicología* 26, no. 1 (2003), 207–232; "L'Oratori a Catalunya al segle XVIII," *Revista de Catalunya* 203 (2005), 77–92; and "Josep Rafael Carreras i Bulbena, el naixement de l'oratori a Catalunya i altres consideracions," *Recerca musicològica* 17/18 (2007), 153–179. Dauí has also written a variety of articles on the oratorios of Francesc Queralt, such as "Daniel en Babilonia, de Francesc Queralt: un exemple d'oratori català del segle XVIII i un possible model d'anàlisi," *Revista catalana de musicologia* 2 (2004), 145–165; "Estudio de la estructura de las arias de los oratorios de Francesc Queralt (1740–1825)," *Revista de musicología* 28, no. 1 (2005), 722–730; and "Estudio de los recitativos de los oratorios de Francesc Queralt," *Revista de musicología* 30, no. 2 (2007): 419–450. Jaume Garau and Joan Parets have studied Mallorcan oratorio tradition in "Oratorios mallorquines de los siglos XVII y XVIII," in *Música y literatura en la Península Ibérica: 1600–1750: actas del congreso internacional Valladolid, 20–21 y 22 de febrero, 1995*, ed. María Antonia Virgili Blanquet, Germán Vega García-Luengos, and Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 325–332. Valladolid (Spain): Universidad de Valladolid, 1997, which contains a chronology of Mallorcan oratorios across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>27</sup> The literature in this regard is increasingly extensive, but important recent studies include Ballester's "Voces del cielo, ecos del infierno: arias, arietas y recitados para el Ángel y Luzbel en los primeros oratorios del barroco español" (paper presented at the conference "Joan Cabanilles, culminación de la música barroca hispánica: congreso conmemorativo del tercer centenario de su muerte," Universitat de Valencia [Spain], November 21, 2012); and "Literatura, música y devoción en torno a San Felipe Neri," in *Annales Oratorii* 2 (2004), 109–126. Subsequent premiere performances include Pedro Rabassa's 1715 *La gloria de los santos. Oratorio sacro reducido a concerto músico*, text attributed to José Vicente Ortí y Mayor, produced by the "Compañía musical" directed by Josep Cabré on April 5, 2006 as part of the 46<sup>a</sup> Semana de Música Religiosa in Cuenca, Spain.

Portuguese musicological studies, as well. 2013 saw the production of the first piece of Portuguese musicological scholarship entirely dedicated to the oratorio's history in Portugal—Iskrena Yordanova's dissertation on the oratorio *Morte d'Abel* by Pedro António Avondano.<sup>28</sup> Yordanova's dissertation, which includes a critical edition of Avondano's oratorio, appears as part of a larger ongoing project that seeks to produce critical editions of each of Avondano's three existing oratorios, followed by modern premieres of those works. The Portuguese Baroque orchestra *Divino Sospiro* (with which Yordanova herself is a violinist) premiered Avondano's *Morte d'Abel* in February 2012 and *Gioas, Ré di Giuda* in September 2013; the premiere of *L'Isacco* is planned for the coming year. A separate project under the direction of Nicholas McNair and the Escola Superior de Música in Lisbon plans the modern premiere of another Portuguese oratorio, Antonio Leal Moreira's 1786 *Ester*, in the coming year, as well. Though Yordanova's work focuses explicitly on the oratorios of Avondano and contributes critical information on the composer's oratorios as part of a crucial moment of oratorio production in Portugal in the middle of the century, the work, understandably, makes only a preliminary attempt to contextualize that moment within the broader historical narrative of oratorio development and court patronage across the century.

With the exception of Yordanova's recent work, Portuguese oratorio tradition has consistently fallen outside the purview of both sacred and secular studies—perhaps surprisingly, since the vast majority of studies across both areas continue to cite oratorios in their contextual narratives and chronologies. As elsewhere, oratorio traditions in

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<sup>28</sup> Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal" (see full citation above).

Portugal, which have not benefited from the exceptional work of a single composer (such as the well-studied oratorio traditions of Handel, or even the extensive research given to the few oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti, Haydn, or Mendelssohn), fall both simultaneously within and outside the boundaries of sacred and secular, and the genre still lacks meaningful inclusion in either area of research.

*Portuguese Oratorio as Political and Cultural Expression:  
Indications from Studies of Genre and Patronage*

My interest in oratorio production in the Portuguese context not only derives from a distinct gap in musicological scholarship, but more specifically from the potential for meaningful study of such genres as part of a broader cultural history. Several exemplary studies of oratorio in the European context, for example, demonstrate the value of the genre in cultural expression, such as Ruth Smith's *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, which illuminates Handel's libretti as indicators of several key contemporary religious and political concerns of eighteenth-century England.<sup>29</sup> Beyond more general expressive capabilities, however, oratorio and related sacred genres also served the interests of specific patrons in early modern Europe in both secular and sacred performance contexts, as demonstrated, for example, in Kelley Harness's study of female musical patronage in early modern Florence, where symbols of female biblical heroines

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<sup>29</sup> Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

and virgin-martyrs served to fashion their female patrons as both pious and powerful.<sup>30</sup>

In terms of context, Arnaldo Morelli's definition of a secular patronage of oratorio performance, that is, his "palace" oratorios, is particularly useful since it exemplifies the manipulation of the genre to meet secular concerns through sacred content, revealing that oratorios often expressed little about their patron's religious inclinations.<sup>31</sup> Juxtaposed against more numerous studies of sacred contexts of oratorio patronage (convents and churches, for example), Morelli's theoretical definition of secular context adds another crucial level of understanding to the blend of sacred and secular concerns that oratorio, in general, reflects. As this study will show, both sacred and secular contexts found expression in relation to Portuguese production.

Though scholarship has not attempted to situate Portuguese oratorio performance as part of a broader context of artistic patronage, Portuguese royal and aristocratic patrons knew well the value of artistic productions for projecting court interests both in Portugal and across Europe, and it is unlikely that oratorio fell outside these concerns. Art historians have completed much of the scholarship in this regard, examining how Portuguese works from the visual arts throughout the eighteenth century reveal the varied interests of successive monarchs. Angela Delaforce's monumental *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal*, especially, illuminates the value of artistic media within

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<sup>30</sup> Kelley A. Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> Arnaldo Morelli, "'Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma': Patronage and Secular Context of the Oratorio in Baroque Rome," in *Music Observed: Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi, 333–351 (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004). See his article for extended bibliography in both secular and sacred oratorio contexts, most of which centers on Italian traditions.

Portuguese court politics by drawing artistic works into an enormous network of documentary evidence.<sup>32</sup> Together with works from other creative subjects such as literature and poetry, patterns of meaning and symbolism in such sources reveal the strong political, religious, and socio-cultural undercurrents implicated in such productions. Only a few recent studies have approached the topic of musical patronage in Portugal, however.<sup>33</sup> Though this project will contribute integrally to the study of Portuguese musical patronage, the generation of this musical history will also contribute more generally to our understanding of European court life and the importance of music in the articulation of political and religious power across the continent, as already detailed by Tim Blanning and, in relation to music, Christopher Hogwood.<sup>34</sup>

Though, as will be shown, across this time period oratorio and related genres found their way into a wide variety of performance contexts, both at court and in public theaters in Portugal, I take as a focus those works that were performed at or had some direct association with the Portuguese court. This focus allows a pointed study of court culture, politics, and religious thought through the lens of oratorio productions, but the focus on court patronage is applied with considerable flexibility, since some of the most important and unique phases of oratorio production actually occurred outside court ceremonial. Even when oratorio performances occurred outside the court, such works

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<sup>32</sup> Angela Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra em Portugal", which explores Portugese royal patronage of sacred music at court. Cultural studies of musical patronage in Portugal are not yet a major area of research.

<sup>34</sup> Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Christopher Hogwood, *Music at Court* (London: The Folio Society, 1977).



were often integrally related to court musical culture, and serve to demonstrate, for instance, the movement of court musicians in the web of musical institutions across Lisbon and the representation of court politics to a broader public audience. Furthermore, some of the most interesting musical works produced in this regard actually occurred not only outside the Portuguese court but also outside Portuguese borders, such as Portuguese oratorio performances in Rome early in the eighteenth century.

*Oratorio in the Exchange of Power at the Portuguese Court, 1707–1807*

This study takes as its point of departure the first appearance of the genre in 1719 and traces the production of the genre through 1807, the point at which the Portuguese court fled to Brazil to escape the French Invasions of Portugal under Napoleon. In Part 1, two chapters explore the origins and development of oratorio in Portugal through 1750. Given the extensive loss of documentation from this period due to the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, these chapters focus on two distinct sets of existing documentary sources that reveal conflicting conceptions of the genre in its earliest period of production by Portuguese court composers.

Chapter 1 examines Portuguese production of oratorio in its initial period (1719–1723). From that period, existing printed text sources reveal the earliest production of oratorios in Portugal as part of saint celebrations in Lisbon alongside Spanish paraliturgical musics such as villancico. I argue that although these works appear outside court—produced in Lisbon's parish churches and convents—they act as a strong reaction

to ongoing court religious reforms whereby the Portuguese court removed Spanish theatrical traditions, especially those common in liturgical worship such as villancicos, from court ceremonial and instituted the exclusive practice of the Roman Rite. The primary producers of these oratorios were, nonetheless, court musicians, poets, and nobility, strongly implicating the works, however uncharacteristic they may be of later Italianate oratorio produced at court, in the history of court musical influence. This chapter also challenges the typical narrative of early oratorio introduction to the Portuguese context, which is guided by two prevailing assumptions: 1) that from the beginning oratorio was based on Italian models; 2) that such models were mediated through Spanish influence. Analysis of this collection of early works reveals that an exclusive group of Portuguese court and elite musicians (who were, arguably, disenfranchised from court religious musical ceremonial by 1719) introduced the oratorio according to an entirely exceptional set of cultural, structural, and textual concerns, resulting in a blended product distinct from either contemporary Italian or Spanish traditions.

Chapter 2 overlaps and complements the work of Chapter 1, examining the simultaneous production of Italian oratorio during the reign of João V by Portuguese court composers studying abroad in Rome. At the same time that João V abandoned the use of the villancicos, noted above, he also promoted a vast reform effort aimed at drawing the Portuguese monarchy in all ways closer to the model of the Papal court in Rome. Thus, I argue that while composers developed the oratorio conception examined in Chapter 1 within Portugal, Portuguese music scholars abroad in Rome served the

interests of the court beyond the country's borders, projecting court politics through musical productions in the Papal City. In Chapter 2, I specifically examine two oratorios by Portuguese composer Francisco António de Almeida, both written and produced in Rome in the 1720s, focusing specifically on how those two works might have served the development of a mythology of Portuguese political and cultural renewal for elite Roman audiences.

In Part 2, two subsequent chapters trace the production of Italianate oratorio at the Portuguese court in Lisbon through the turn of the nineteenth century. Following the 1755 earthquake, no musical performances are known to have occurred at court for a period of about ten years. After that rebuilding period, however, significant evidence reveals a developing tradition of oratorio production at court in which Italianate oratorios served, with increasing regularity, as royal name day ceremonial from the 1760s through the early 1790s. Chapter 3 explores this development of Lenten oratorio performance across the reigns of José I and Maria I. In the first reign, the oratorio appears to contribute to the process of rebuilding a court devastated by natural disaster, especially through regularized ceremonial; in the second, the oratorios produced under Maria I can be positioned within the larger political milieu of the queen's reign—where her gender called for a certain pointed rendering of political imagery surrounding a female head of state.

When Maria I was incapacitated by the onset of "madness" in 1792, and her second son, the future King João VI took over as prince regent, the court no longer sponsored operatic productions—including oratorio—at the royal palace. Instead, the

subsequent phase of oratorio production unfolded from 1793 outside the court at the new Real Teatro de São Carlos. Chapter 4 traces the movement of court-sponsored productions to the new theater, which effectively merged the private courtly and public theater spheres. In this chapter, I examine the subsequent oratorio productions within the changing negotiations of royal power in late eighteenth-century Lisbon, during which time a rising bourgeoisie rapidly acquired access to Portuguese cultural institutions. While public theaters across Lisbon had produced oratorio from at least the midcentury, these theaters had previously remained secondary to court productions. In this period, however, oratorio adopted the broader usage characteristic of other Lenten traditions across Europe,<sup>35</sup> where the production of popular Italian oratorios served to supplement the income of the theater during the religious season and sought to appeal to shifting public tastes. While oratorio performances continued in Portugal following the 1807 departure of the court at least through the Liberal Wars of 1834 that brought an end to Portugal's absolute monarchy, the production of such works with an absentee court in Rio de Janeiro resulted in altogether different contextual circumstances for such productions. With vast implications for a study of such works within the trans-Atlantic Portuguese empire of the early nineteenth century, such works have been reserved for future study.

Finally, in Appendix 1, a comprehensive chronology unites the most relevant documentary source information for oratorios produced across the entire period under study, 1707–1807. Above all, this dissertation and the accompanying chronology reveal that, as Maria I so aptly implied in 1782, the Portuguese court (and its various

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<sup>35</sup> See Smither, *The History of the Oratorio*.

appendages) deeply understood the value of the oratorio and related genres as "appropriate musics for that time." The question becomes, however: how did various Portuguese court patrons understand and conceptualize the "appropriateness" of such works across the turbulent and varied passage of one hundred years? As the chapters that follow suggest, such appropriateness was not only constituted by the religious underpinnings of the genre, as Maria I's letters would lead the reader to believe. Indeed, Portuguese production of the genre appears to have had much less to do with religious propriety in musical performance than it did with the ongoing negotiation of the politics of court power in terms appropriate to the goals of its various patrons.

**PART ONE**  
**Locating "Portuguese" Oratorio: Origins, Conflicting Models, and Cultural Transitions (1707–1750)**

The early eighteenth century in Portugal was marked by a fresh sense of opulence and a deep interest in cultural and political renewal.<sup>1</sup> A vibrant young king, João V, had ascended the throne in 1707, and shortly thereafter the royal coffers filled, suddenly, with newly discovered Brazilian gold. The country's new wealth from the Brazilian colony evoked the memory of the Portuguese Golden Ages of Discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Portugal stood at the forefront of European wealth and power. Indeed, the new king seemed keen to revitalize just such a memory, forging and fostering new political alliances, defining the religious focus of the deeply Catholic court, and seeking renewed models for Portuguese musical and artistic productions. In the intense period of transition that ensued across João V's reign, which endured through his death in 1750, the exact nature of such alliances, definitions, and renewals were negotiated and renegotiated, debated, attacked, and defended. Music was not exempt from the fray, and the king's developing cultural positions focused quickly on importing and developing the

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<sup>1</sup> This period in Portuguese history has received considerable attention in the scholarly literature, especially from political, cultural, and art historical viewpoints. For more general accounts and studies of this period and the reign of João V, see Manuel Bernardes Branco, *Portugal na epoca de Dom João V*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Livraria de Antonio Maria Fereira, 1886); Eduardo Brazão, *D. João V: Subsídios para a história do seu reinado* (Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1945); Avelino de Freitas de Meneses, ed., *Portugal da paz da Restauração ao ouro do Brasil*, Vol. 7., *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2001); and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *D. João V* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006).

model of Italian (and more specifically, Roman) musical traditions, while expressly abandoning older Spanish models in courtly musical production.<sup>2</sup>

These early eighteenth-century musical negotiations reflect a tremendous shift in Portuguese cultural history, in which the Portuguese court contemplated the country's cultural legacy and an appropriate cultural path forward. On the one hand, Portugal remained inextricably linked to Iberian cultural history and deeply intertwined with Spanish artistic and musical traditions, especially given the integration of the two nations

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<sup>2</sup> Many musicological studies have examined this transitional moment, especially from the perspective of the "Italianization" of Portuguese musical culture. The studies cited here provide much of the background for the discussions in the first two chapters of this dissertation. For more general discussions, see Manuel Carlos de Brito, "As relações musicais entre Portugal e a Itália no século XVIII," in *Portugal e o mundo—o encontro de culturas na música*, ed. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1996), 115–124, and Rui Vieira Nery, "Italian Models and Problems of Periodisation in Portuguese Baroque Music," in *Routes du Baroque: la contribution du Baroque à la pensée et à l'art européens*, ed. Alain Roy and Isabel Tamen (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 217–223. Other studies examine the contracting of Italian composers for the Lisbon court, especially Domenico Scarlatti, as indicative of the increasing influence of Italian musical culture in Portugal during this period; see, for example, João Pedro d'Alvarenga, "Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s: Portugal, Travelling, and the Italianisation of the Portuguese Musical Scene," in *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures: Essays to Commemorate the 250th Anniversary of His Death*, ed. Massimiliano Sala and W. Dean Sutcliffe (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2008), 17–68). Alvarenga also addresses João V's more specific "Romanization" of the Portuguese Royal Chapel—part of the king's larger and slower mission of "Italianization" of Portuguese culture in general—in "'To Make of Lisbon a New Rome': The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8, no. 2 (2011): 179–214. Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," addresses the issue from the perspective of the elimination of Spanish genres such as villancico in this period. The subject has also been treated in art historical studies, such as Angela Delaforce's "The 'New Solomon': Dom João V and 'An Image of the Celestial Court on Earth'," in *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165–222; and her "Lisbon, 'This New Rome': Dom João V of Portugal and Relations Between Rome and Lisbon," in *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 49–79. The idea of Lisbon as a "New Rome" is discussed below.

under the Iberian Union (1580–1640) and through continued political alliance and royal intermarriage of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns. On the other hand, the allure of Rome—the venerable epicenter of Catholic power and devotion in early eighteenth-century Europe—marked the new focus of the Portuguese crown. Once again independent for over fifty years and increasingly wealthy, the model of Rome no doubt seemed an increasingly attainable goal. In previous scholarship, music is seen to reflect this shift in cultural focus through one predominant narrative. While Spanish sacred and secular musical genres, such as villancico and zarzuela, remained popular at court through the reign of Pedro II (r. 1683–1706), the abandonment of these genres at the court of João V served to clear the way way for the exclusive modeling of Portuguese court ceremonial on Italian musical genres.

Through this transition, João V sought to make Portugal once again a figurehead of European political power, and he astutely cultivated religious, artistic, and cultural reforms that would, hopefully, engender this new era. The ensuing "Portuguese courtship of Roman Society," as described and analyzed by Susan M. Dixon in her study of the Arcadian Rome centered itself largely in that city, where Portuguese diplomats pursued various avenues for accomplishing the king's desired changes—artistic and architectural patronage; membership and activity within the Arcadia; and lavish and carefully timed diplomatic entry processions.<sup>3</sup> As examined fully by Dixon, João V selected Portuguese ambassadors specifically to oversee the fulfillment his goals in the period of about 1712 to 1731—first, Rodrigo Annes de Sá e Meneses, and later, André de Melo e Castro.

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<sup>3</sup> Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and Its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 86.



Across their work, three predominant goals emerged.<sup>4</sup> First, the Portuguese monarchy hoped to obtain the privilege of elevating the title and status of the Portuguese Royal Chapel to Patriarchal See. This process would grant the custodian of the Portuguese Royal Chapel the title of Patriarch and remove it from the control of Rome by placing that chapel under the domain of that new Patriarch. Second, the king wished to resolve the controversy known as the "Chinese Rites," which was an ongoing debate over the role of Jesuit missionaries in China (many of whom were Portuguese). Specifically, the Chinese Rites sought to appease native authorities by allowing Jesuit missionaries to incorporate Chinese ritual into Catholic practice. Such tactics were intended to ensure the prolonged relationship of Portuguese trade markets in China, not to prematurely hasten their disintegration—a problem well known to the Portuguese, who had lost the Japanese markets for the same reasons. Third, the Portuguese court sought to secure the permanent and automatic privilege of granting Portuguese ambassadors in Rome the title of Crown Cardinal. This privilege would ensure a crucial Portuguese voice with the right to veto at conclaves. In this period, only the Catholic monarchs of France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire had obtained such a right. Across all these major negotiations, deeply religious terms framed the financial and political implications of their outcomes.

Though the goals of the Portuguese monarchy in this period were lofty, the court was in a position of financial and military strength that granted it a measure of power to exact such changes. Indeed, the Portuguese court achieved its first goal as the result of such contributions. After nearly ten years of gradual elevations and ecclesiastical

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<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed examination of these three goals, see Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal*, 83–86.

privileges, on November 7, 1716, Pope Clement XI issued the papal bull *In supremo apostolatus solio*, raising the Portuguese Royal Chapel to the title and status of Patriarchal See.<sup>5</sup> The elevation served, in part, as a gesture of thanks to the Portuguese court following the carefully timed and successful defense against Turkish encroachment on Italian strongholds in the Mediterranean by Portuguese naval forces that year. The significance of this gesture cannot be overstated. As Alvarenga aptly summarizes:

The creation of the Patriarchal Church was the first major achievement in a long-standing and complex political and diplomatic project designed to legitimize the Portuguese crown and the Bragança dynasty both internally and on the international stage. . . . the political benefits of gaining the endorsement of Rome were plain: the church was a vital instrument of social control once its symbolic resources were placed in the service of an absolutist power; in practice, though, this meant disrupting historic court hierarchies and . . . transforming the rituals by which the monarchy was legitimized, in part by confounding these rituals with newly adopted ceremonial practices derived from the Roman church.<sup>6</sup>

Following the elevation, the Lisbon Patriarchal Chapel immediately implemented the use of the Roman Rite (to the abandonment of popular Spanish paraliturgical musics in the Royal Chapel's practices, such as villancico), requesting copies of the liturgical books of St. Peter's Basilica to be sent to the Portuguese court. João V also began plans for a new Patriarchal chapel to be built as an addition to the royal palace in Lisbon (though it never came to fruition). In the period that followed, a myth of Portuguese cultural and political renewal developed both in Lisbon and in Rome. As such, D. João V's Lisbon was said to represent a "new Rome," drawing on the well-known imagery of the Portuguese epic

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<sup>5</sup> On the elevation of the Portuguese Royal Chapel, see Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, Vol. 2, ed. Damião Peres (Porto: Portucalense, 1967–1971), 10–15; Alvarenga, "To Make of Lisbon a New Rome," 179–180; and Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra em Portugal," 1:1–18. For a general history of this period of Portuguese naval history, see Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, 2:403–404.

<sup>6</sup> Alvarenga, "To Make of Lisbon a New Rome," 180.

poem *Os Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões: "Via estar todo o Ceo determinado / De fazer de Lisboa nova Roma (That it was Heaven's will, he [Vasco de Gama] knew aright, / Of this our Lisbon a new Rome to make)."<sup>7</sup>

I believe that this cultural moment is crucial to understanding the earliest exemplars of oratorio that appear in relation to the Portuguese court. Produced from the late 1710s to the late 1720s, these exemplars betray two simultaneous but conflicting manifestations of early oratorio production by Portuguese court composers, both of which seem integrally tied up with the negotiation of Portuguese cultural models following the elevation of the Portuguese Patriarchal Chapel. One version, based on the model of Spanish villancico, was newly produced in Lisbon's Sé Cathedral (the Portuguese capital's long-standing center of religious devotion prior to the elevation of the Patriarchal Chapel) from 1719 under the lead of D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau, a Spanish composer, poet and printer at the Lisbon court. Portuguese composer Francisco António de Almeida concurrently produced the other version of oratorio, based entirely in contemporary Roman models, during that composer's period of study in the Papal City under the patronage of the Portuguese king throughout much of the 1720s.

The existing documentation betrays a direct negotiation of the terms of the Portuguese court's reforms by these two court musical factions. The former—those court composers and musicians representative of an older Spanish tradition—seem to have appropriated the oratorio as a new platform for dissent which, while remaining strongly

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<sup>7</sup> Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon: 1572), canto 6. Art historians and musicologists have noted the influence of this idea on contemporary productions. See, for example, Angela Delaforce's "Lisbon, 'This New Rome,'" and Alvarenga's, "'To Make of Lisbon a New Rome'" (both cited above).

positioned within sacred musical performance contexts, opened up a new space for examining the historical relationship between music, religion, and political power in Portuguese cultural history. At the same time, Almeida's oratorios worked to move that same relationship forward into new phases, aligning the composer alongside the Portuguese king's cultural agenda. In this sense, it seems that oratorio functioned on both sides of the divide that marked the old and new in the early eighteenth-century transition of Portuguese cultural models. In my examination, it is precisely this position that made the oratorio uniquely situated to open up spaces, usually at the hands of the genre's patrons and composers, for the simultaneous blending of secular politics and entertainment within the basic terms of religious devotion and principle.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> I continue here the discussions of various scholars whose approaches to the oratorio, as a genre, emphasize its double life between sacred and secular concerns. See for instance: Howard Smither, "Oratorio and Sacred Opera, 1700–1825: Terminology and Genre Distinction," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1980), 88–104; Arnaldo Morelli, "Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma"; and Stefanie Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), especially Chapter 4, "Disrupting the oratorio," 46–98. As Tcharos notes (endnote 25, pages 237–238), the varying sacred and secular influences that became manifest in genres like oratorio, as well as others such as sacred opera, deserve more thorough investigation.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **"Mejor que el Violin, Mejor que el Timbal, Mejor que el Clarin": Lisbon's Iberian Musical Elite and Early Portuguese Oratorio (1719–1723)**

As Matins for the feast of São Vicente at Lisbon's Sé Cathedral drew to a close on January 21, 1719, a carefully placed note alerted the congregants to an important change in that year's celebration: "An Oratorio will continue these Devotions, to be sung tomorrow afternoon, finalizing the feast of S. Vicente."<sup>1</sup> The note was included at the end of the printed chapbooks, which contained the texts of the Matins villancicos—Iberian sacred compositions in the vernacular that served as brief moments of popular musical devotion across the liturgy. Sure enough, returning the following afternoon, the celebrants distributed a new printed chapbook containing the text of an "oratorio" by Sé canon Julião Maciel, as shown in Figure 1.1 below. The printed text noted that prominent Catalan court composer, poet, and printer D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau had provided the music for the work, which, following descriptive notations in the printed text, consisted of four solo voices and accompaniment of strings, winds, and percussion. Though the

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<sup>1</sup> P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>9</sup> P. "Serà continuacion de estes Cultos un Oratorio, q[ue] se cantarà mañana por la tarde, con q[ue] se finaliza la fiesta del Señor S. Vicente." The oratorio text is held at P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>10</sup> P.

A complete collection of the oratorios (and villancicos) for S. Vicente (1719–1723) to be discussed in this chapter exists at P-Ln, though incomplete collections exist also in other locations in Portugal and Brazil; see Appendix 1, Table 1.1, and notes 2–4 below for more detailed source information. The villancicos for the 1722 feast of S. Gonçalo, to be discussed below, also exist at P-Ln and BR-Rn, but the only known copy of the accompanying oratorio is held today in the Brazilian collection. With the exception of the 1722 oratorio for S. Gonçalo, all villancico and oratorio texts discussed in this chapter are available online through the digital collection of P-Ln: <http://purl.pt/index/geral/PT/index.html>.

music is apparently lost, the existing printed text of this work serves as the earliest known source for oratorio performance in Portugal.

**Figure 1.1: 1719 Oratorio Imprint, title page and page 3 (page 2 is blank). Music by D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau. Text by Julião (Julian) Maciel. P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>10</sup> P.**



As additional printed texts demonstrate, the new model for the musical celebration of S. Vicente at the Sé stuck. Over the next four years, an oratorio served as a poetic continuation of the Matins villancicos and as a culmination and end to the yearly celebration. In 1720, the S. Vicente Matins villancicos boasted texts by "los mejores ingenios de Portugal, y Castilla" (the best talents of Portugal and Castille), followed by a

new oratorio by Madrid court composer Antonio Literes.<sup>2</sup> From 1721 to 1723, Te y Sagau's 1719 oratorio was repeated alongside new villancicos.<sup>3</sup> The addition of oratorio to the villancico performances at saint celebrations extended also in 1722 to Lisbon's Convent of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, where newly composed villancicos and a new oratorio by Te y Sagau and Maciel celebrated the feast of São Gonçalo.<sup>4</sup> The 1719–1723 oratorios exist today only in the form of the printed chapbooks, and no musical sources apparently remain. After 1723 the printed sources disappear entirely.

Yet the sudden appearance (and disappearance) of these earliest oratorios in Portugal remains without significant comment in the scholarly literature. What little examination exists to date perpetuates the works as "oratorios" with little further qualification, including them tentatively in both studies of theatrical and liturgical musics, while presuming that such works appear as part of the general influx of Italian musical styles that occurred across the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>11</sup> P. (villancicos, 1720); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>12</sup> P. (oratorio, 1720).

<sup>3</sup> P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>13</sup> P. (villancicos, 1721); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>14</sup> (oratorio, 1721); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>15</sup> P. (villancicos, 1722); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>16</sup> (oratorio, 1722); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>17</sup> P. (villancicos, 1723); P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>18</sup> (oratorio, 1723).

<sup>4</sup> P-Ln, Res. 199<sup>22</sup> P. (villancicos, S. Gonçalo, 1722); BR-Rn, SLR 15, 3, 6, n.º 12 (oratorio, S. Gonçalo, 1722). The oratorio for S. Gonçalo in 1722 appears in none of the studies or chronologies to date, perhaps because the work does not exist in the Portugal collections. For this study, the work was identified by Gerhard Doderer's reference in his article on the composer, "An Unknown Repertory: The Cantatas of Jayme de la Tê y Sagau (Lisbon: 1715–26)," in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80–107, and the catalogue of the Barbosa Machado collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro; see Rosemarie Erika Horch, *Vilancicos da Coleção Barbosa Machado* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Publicações e Divulgação, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> Since the late nineteenth century, Portuguese musicological studies have included the oratorios, with varying degrees of accuracy, in chronologies of Portuguese eighteenth-century theatrical and liturgical music. The first to include the works was likely

What such studies reveal is not only a difficulty in placing such works in studies of the sacred and secular, but also a difficulty in determining how to understand the works in the transition from Iberian models to Italian styles in early eighteenth-century Portugal.

An analysis of the surviving sources and relevant documentation suggests that the oratorios produced in Lisbon from 1719–1723 were likely not inconsequential and unassuming additions to liturgical celebration that flowed naturally into the production of

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Marques's *Cronologia da ópera em Portugal*, which traces the origin of the oratorio in Portugal to the villancico (which he understands, questionably, as an early version of Portuguese opera). For Marques's description and discussion of the villancico and oratorio at the festival of S. Vicente, see pages 56–73. In English-language studies, Howard Smither later attempted to examine Portuguese oratorio within the third volume of his *The History of the Oratorio* (3:614–615), apparently without knowledge of Marques's description. Smither identifies the five years of oratorio production at the Sé Cathedral from the complete collection of texts at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, probably like Marques, but after giving a basic description of the existing texts, Smither admits: "Whether the . . . oratorios performed at Lisbon Cathedral established a tradition has yet to be investigated" (3:615).

Since Smither's writing, the works have continued to crop up in more narrowly defined studies of secular and sacred music, though they remain without significant analysis to date. Manuel Carlos de Brito included the works in his monumental chronology of Portuguese operatic performances across the eighteenth century, though he only identified oratorios for the years 1719, 1720, and 1722 and made no relation between the works and the villancicos that accompanied them. See Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, 124–125. Brito likely left out the oratorios in 1721 and 1723 because the sources cited are from the incomplete collection in P-EVp; see José Augusto Alegria, *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977). Brito also inexplicably identifies Antonio Literes as the composer of each of these three oratorios, a mistake that is replicated by Antoni Piza's *Antoni Literes: introducció a la seva obra* (Palma: Edicions Documenta Balear, 2002), 37. The tacit implication of Brito's chronology is that these oratorios lead organically into later Italian oratorio models, which appear in Portugal in the following decades. Even more recently, Yordanova's dissertation on oratorios by Portuguese composer Pedro António Avondano and Lopes's study of the villancicos of the Portuguese Royal Chapel mention the oratorios as complementary to their respective studies, though both provide little critical reflection on the nature of these performances and the relation of these works to contemporary oratorio or related genres in Portugal. See Yordanova, "Contributos para a história da oratória em Portugal" and Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa."



Italian-style oratorios in Portugal. Rather, in their careful and short-lived production by some of Lisbon and the Iberian Peninsula's leading poets and composers, most of whom were associated with the production of Iberian genres (villancico, zarzuela, etc.), the oratorios perhaps served as a new platform for a recently disenfranchised musical elite to legitimize their musical contributions and to voice their dissent at court reforms, such as the elevation of the Patriarchal Chapel, which wholly eliminated the production of villancico and other Iberian genres at court from 1716 and from parish churches from 1723.<sup>6</sup> As such, the oratorios from 1719–1723 display a largely exceptional set of cultural, structural, and textual concerns, demarcating this brief period of production in many ways from contemporary traditions in both Spain and Italy, as well as subsequent periods of production in Portugal.

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<sup>6</sup> Scholars have ascertained the end of villancicos in the Royal Chapel primarily from annotations in the printed villancico texts of the Barbosa Machado Collection in BR-Rn. Portuguese writer and bibliographer Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682–1772) collected vast amounts of the printed villancicos texts (both from the court and parish churches) throughout his lifetime and eventually donated them to King José I's library. When the royal court transferred to Brazil due to the French invasions in 1807, the collection accompanied them. The last villancicos performed at the Royal Chapel occurred in January 1716 for the feast of Epiphany, and it was likely Machado himself who inscribed a note in the printed text of his collection explaining this important detail: "Neste anno de 1716 se finalizarão os Villancicos das Matinas das F[est]a Reys na Capella Real por se introduzirem os Ritos da Capella Pontificia" (In the year of 1716, the Villancicos for the Matins of the Feast of Epiphany in the Royal Chapel were performed for the last time due to the introduction of the Rites of the Pontifical Chapel) (transcribed in Horch, *Vilancicos da Coleção Barbosa Machado*, 92). After the end of villancicos in the Royal Chapel, villancicos continued to be printed and performed in Lisbon's parish churches—as many printed texts attest—until 1723, after which point villancico printed texts (as well as the oratorio texts) cease to appear. Scholars typically attribute the end of such works to the institution of the Roman Rite across Lisbon's parish churches; this scholarship is discussed in detail below.

Superimposed on a long-standing tradition of villancico production, the oratorios must first be considered as part of broader trends of Iberian paraliturgical genres in early eighteenth-century Portugal.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the end of villancico and vernacular paraliturgical musical practice in Portuguese musical life, such genres had enjoyed a long and continuous development since the height of their cultivation in the Portuguese Royal Chapel under King João IV (r. 1640–1656).<sup>8</sup> From about 1640, the Portuguese king—

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<sup>7</sup> The villancico, found in both sacred and secular versions from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century in Portugal, was associated exclusively with religious contexts by the early eighteenth century. Extensive scholarship exists on the subject of villancico both in Portugal and Spain, including the wide variety of usages of the term "villancico" and other related vernacular devotional genres, as well as the changing definitions of these genres across time. For various thematic studies of both Spanish and Portuguese villancico in the time period in question here, see Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente's edited volume *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). The most complete discussion to date of the production of villancico in the Portuguese Royal Chapel is Lopes's "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa"; see also Manuel Carlos de Brito, "As origens e a evolução do vilancico religioso até 1700," in *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1989); and Robert Stevenson, *Vilancicos Portugueses*, *Portugaliae Musica*, Série A, 29 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976), which is particularly useful for its transcriptions of villancico music manuscripts from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. For Spain, see Álvaro Torrente, "The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997); and Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> Having recently restored the Portuguese crown after sixty years of rule under Spain during the Iberian Union (1580–1640), João IV (formerly João II, Duke of Bragança) is well known for amassing one of the largest music libraries in Europe, which included more than 2,000 villancicos. The entire library was destroyed in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, but a partial existing catalogue of the library suggests the enormity of the collection. For discussion of João IV, his music library, and the print inventory, see Rui Vieira Nery, "The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604–1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth

who had recently regained the Portuguese throne from Spain and ended the sixty-year Iberian Union—promoted the use of villancicos at the Royal Chapel in the three most solemn festivals of the Portuguese court: Christmas (from 1640), Epiphany (from 1646), and the Immaculate Conception (from 1652, when yearly performances for all three festivals became standard). Beginning in 1644, Portuguese convents and other religious centers, such as the Sé Cathedrals in Lisbon and Coimbra, also began to include villancico performances in Christmas and Epiphany festivals, as well as lesser festivals and celebrations of regional and local saints.<sup>9</sup>

As Lopes has demonstrated, the printed texts of these works served an important role in the symbolic representation of the Portuguese monarchy, especially in the post-Restoration period. While the poetry developed a corpus of thematic and linguistic types, the imprint itself aimed at conveying the symbolic representation of the social hierarchy in the new Portuguese kingdom to the "vast and heterodox" public:

The villancico imprint also acquired an important symbolic dimension that translated into two distinct but closely linked aspects: the testimony of divine worship and its key messages, and the need to perpetuate in time the collective memory of the greatness and the ceremonial apparatus of the court and the monarch. From this point of view, the villancico imprints can be seen as one of the most visible and constant signals of sovereignty, contributing to the recognition and legitimization of the court not only as an influential centre of norms and traditions, but also, by extension, as a regulating political centre for the whole of society.<sup>10</sup>

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Centuries" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1990).

<sup>9</sup> Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," provides a chronology of known works performed at the Portuguese Royal Chapel (1640–1716) and religious institutions outside the court, such as the Sé Cathedral in Lisbon (1644–1723); see his Appendices A and B, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> Rui Cabral Lopes, "Religiosity, Power and Aspects of Social Representation in the Villancicos of the Portuguese Royal Chapel," in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 201.

In that period, the villancico imprint served in the process of affirmation and legitimization of the court of João IV. Though the villancico perhaps lost some of the urgency of its symbolic representations as the Restoration faded into the past, by the turn of the eighteenth century, the villancico had become, as in Spain, one of the primary vehicles for extraliturgical musical entertainment in Portuguese religious worship, both inside and outside the court.

Despite ever-increasing Italian influence, especially following João V's ascent to the throne, villancicos in Portugal retained many of the defining musical and literary features that had long characterized the genre. Grouped into collections of, typically, eight villancicos, the large amount of existing printed chapbooks demonstrate the continued musical division of the works according to Iberian tradition, in which *estribillo* (refrain) and *coplas* (verses) alternate with a wide variety of other popular Iberian subgenres, such as *jácaras* or *seguidillas*.<sup>11</sup> Yet as early as the final decades of the seventeenth century, Italian influence steadily entered into the Spanish villancico, giving rise to the use of musical styles and terminology from Italian vocal traditions then growing popular in Spain, such as aria and recitative styles, as well as other non-Iberian

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<sup>11</sup> Collections of villancicos in Portugal in this period ranged from five to ten works in a set, though the most common grouping was eight villancicos. These villancicos were most often organized in three to six shorter sections (alternating arias, recitatives, estribillos, coplas, etc.), though works grew longer after the turn of the eighteenth century. The villancicos would be performed throughout the Matins in alternation with the lessons and responsories according to the three nocturns; the most common grouping would place three villancicos in the first nocturn, three in the second nocturn, and two in the final nocturn (3-3-2). See Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," 1:97–108, for discussion of the arrangement of villancicos according to the nocturns and comparison to other organizational arrangements.

terminology such as minuet and grave, all of which became intermingled with the enduring use of estribillos and coplas.<sup>12</sup> As in Spain, the villancico in Portugal soon betrayed Italian influence as well, whether directly from Italian sources or introduced by Spanish composers working in Lisbon's musical scene. Despite Italian musical influence, the villancico continued, both in Spain and Portugal, to be written primarily in Castilian, the predominant language of the genre throughout its history, as well as a wide variety of other Iberian languages and dialects, many of which served to portray dramatic character types.<sup>13</sup>

When the oratorios appear in 1719, they emerge not within the context of the Portuguese court, however, since the Portuguese Royal Chapel hadn't performed villancicos for nearly three years. The 1716 elimination of the villancico from the Royal

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<sup>12</sup> In Portugal, Italianate sections, such as recitative and aria, appear for the first time in villancicos for the celebration of Santa Cecília at Lisbon's Santa Justa parish from 1705 (P-Ln, Res. 197<sup>4</sup> P.), though scholarship has mistakenly identified the first such occurrences as those that appear in the São Vicente villancicos for the Sé Cathedral in 1709 (see Marques, *Cronologia da ópera em Portugal*, 59; and Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 2). Nonetheless, Spanish theatrical influence endured in Portugal, even with such Italian influence; see Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Vestígios do teatro musical espanhol em Portugal durante os séculos XVII e XVIII," in *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1989), 65–76. For discussion of Italian musical influence in Spain, see Álvaro Torrente, "Italianate Sections in the Villancicos of the Royal Chapel, 1700–1740," in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 72–79; and William M. Bussey, *French and Italian Influence on the Zarzuela, 1700–1770, Studies in Musicology* 53 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982).

<sup>13</sup> In the Portuguese context, Lopes's survey of nearly 1700 villancicos performed at the Royal Chapel demonstrates that nearly 90% of villancicos were in Castilian, with the remaining texts written in a variety of other languages and dialects, including Portuguese (constituting nearly 50% of the remaining texts), Gypsy, Negro (Portuguese and Castilian Creoles), Ensaladas or mixed texts, Galician, and others including Arabic, Sayaguês, Basque, and French. Lopes found a similar distribution of languages when looking at those villancicos performed outside the Royal Chapel in the period of 1644–1723. "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," 1:109–111.

Chapel served to sever some of Portugal's cultural and religious ties to the Iberian Peninsula. Nearly sixty years after the Restoration of the Portuguese crown, no doubt João V took pride in erasing these enduring markers of Iberian tradition. According to his profound upholding of Roman tradition as the idealized emblem of Christian civilization, the villancicos represented a decadent past in which Portugal remained imprisoned. Correspondence with his daughter, Queen Bárbara of Spain, nearly thirty years after the abandonment of the villancico at the Portuguese Royal Chapel, reveals the king's unchanging attitude on the issue. Writing from Madrid in 1747, Queen Bárbara recounted to her father the dismaying celebration of Epiphany Matins at the Spanish court, where villancicos continued to be used:

... here we break our heads with three hours of villancicos that I cannot stand, and if I was able, I would prohibit, because they are a ridiculous and improper thing, mixing Castillian songs with the Divine Office; in the Pontifical Mass the Nuncio celebrated today, in the place that [in Portugal] one would sing a motet, was fit in other villancicos. See, Your Majesty, what nonsense . . .<sup>14</sup>

João V's response the following week echoed his daughter's disdain:

The villancicos well deserve to be banished from the Matins and Masses, because they are an indecent and intolerable abuse; [I have noted] that already there are not such things in the world, and in any other place outside of Spain it would be a great dissonance to know that still there one consents to mix likewise common song with that selected by the Church, and what is still worse, they leave out the singing of the responsories of the Matins to sing these villancicos.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "... cá nos quebrarão a cabeça 3 horas com os vilhancicos q. os não aturo, e se pudesse os avia de prohibir, porq. he huma cousa ridicula e impropria, misturadas de castelhanadas com o officio divino; e na missa de pontifical q. celebrou o Nuncio hoje, no lugar q. lá se canta o motete, emcaixarão outros vilhancicos, veja V. Mag.<sup>de</sup> q. parvoisse . . ." Transcribed in João Albino Pinto Ferreira, ed., *Correspondência de D. João V e de D. Bárbara de Bragança rainha de Espanha (1746–1747)* (Coimbra: Livraria Gonçalves, 1945), 453.

<sup>15</sup> "Os villancicos bem meressão ser desterrados das Mat.<sup>as</sup> e Missas, porq.<sup>e</sup> he hu[m] abuzo intoleravel, e indecente; cuidei q.<sup>e</sup> ja não havia tal couza no Mundo, e em qualq.<sup>r</sup>

This exchange between the Portuguese king and his daughter serves furthermore to emphasize that, though court connections endured between the Iberian countries primarily through intermarriage of Portuguese and Spanish princes and princesses, the Portuguese court had long had its cultural sights set on the traditions of more distant lands.

Nonetheless, in the early eighteenth-century Portuguese capital, where villancico remained one of the most popular musical devotions in liturgical feast celebrations, the abandonment of such genres in 1716 at court did not lead to the immediate demise of the genres in other religious institutions across Lisbon. While the king invested his energy and funds wholly in the new Patriarcal Chapel, the Sé and Lisbon's other parish churches were left to their own devices, at least for a while longer. This was the result, in part, of the king's simultaneous political and religious division of the city of Lisbon into two segments, in order to further facilitate royal control over the functioning of the Patriarcal. As such, the Patriarcal, which was attached to the royal palace, sat at the head of the metropolitan archdiocese of west Lisbon ("Lisboa Occidental"), also known as new Lisbon ("Lisboa nova"). The Sé thus presided over the archbishopric in east Lisbon ("Lisboa Oriental"). This division meant that the new Patriarcal enjoyed unprecedented power and privileges, while the now old ("antiga") Sé faded into the shadows of João V's

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outra p.<sup>te</sup> fora de Hesp.<sup>a</sup> fará grd.<sup>e</sup> disson.<sup>a</sup> saberse q.<sup>e</sup> ainda ahi se consente mixturar semelh.<sup>te</sup> canto vulgar com o determinado p.<sup>la</sup> Ig.<sup>ja</sup>, e o q.<sup>e</sup> ainda he peor, deicharem se de cantar os responsorios das Matina p.<sup>a</sup> se cantarem os dittos villansicos." Ibid., 291.

new Lisbon.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the division seems to have allowed the Sé and Lisbon's other parish churches to maintain the performance of villancicos and other Iberian-style genres until at least 1723. In that year, João V apparently implemented the strict use of the Roman Rite outside the court, as well.<sup>17</sup>

The practice in the religious centers outside the court, such as the Sé Cathedral, however, differed in content and tradition from the Royal Chapel, even from the late seventeenth century. As Lopes has demonstrated, the royal court and, occasionally, the most prestigious centers of church religious activity outside the court, such as the Sé Cathedral's of Lisbon and Coimbra, commemorated the most solemn festivals (Christmas, Epiphany, and Immaculate Conception). Religious centers outside the court, however, more often produced villancicos for the celebrations of lesser feasts, including those of local saints associated with a particular church.<sup>18</sup> Such works may have been

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<sup>16</sup> For instance, D. Tomás de Almeida was named the Patriarch of Lisboa Occidental almost immediately, and João V continuously bolstered the status of both the Patriarch and the canons of the Patriarchal. Royal interest in the functioning of the Sé, however, was severely declined, and João V delayed the selection of a similar figure for the Archbishopric of East Lisbon when its former head passed away shortly thereafter. The Sé was governed subsequently by the *cabido*, or group of canons that formed part of the Cathedral's ministry. Fernandes, "O sistema produtivo da música sacra em Portugal," 1:146.

<sup>17</sup> There is little existing documentation in this regard—no decree or royal document exists to confirm a ban on villancico performance or the spread of the Roman Rite to Lisbon's parish churches. The sudden and complete disappearance of such printed documents from 1723, however, strongly suggests a decree to such an effect.

<sup>18</sup> See Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," 1:85–86, 98, for discussion of at least fourteen religious institutions outside the court that utilized villancicos in their services and an examination of the various occasions for performance, saint festivals and otherwise. Though villancico performances outside the court first appear at Lisbon's Sé Cathedral as early as Christmas 1644, it is not until 1671 that a collection of five short villancicos for a saint devotion appears, sung by the nuns ("as religiosas") at the feast of Santa Clara in the Lisbon convent dedicated to that saint. The first source for saint



more necessary and appropriate at these performance locations, given the saint day devotions popular in such churches and convents. In the early eighteenth century, the most regular and well established traditions of villancico performance outside the court in Lisbon centered on the Sé Cathedral's feast of São Vicente (beginning 1700), the Santa Justa parish's feast of S. Cecília (from 1702), and the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Esperança's feast of S. Gonçalo (from 1707).<sup>19</sup> These three main festivals continued with more or less consistency through 1722 and early 1723, during which time villancicos served as paraliturgical entertainment in the Matins of each saint celebration. The oratorio was thus superimposed onto this established tradition from 1719, as shown in Table 1.1 below, with the new genre continuing the celebration on the feast day.<sup>20</sup>

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festival villancicos at the Sé Cathedral in Lisbon is from the single year of Santo Antonio festivities in 1698.

<sup>19</sup> Prior to 1712, the celebration of São Gonçalo took place at the Church de Nossa Senhora de Nazareth das Religiosas Descalças de S. Bernardo; see Table 1.1. Both locations are in Lisbon.

<sup>20</sup> See Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," Appendix B, for complete chronology of villancico performances at religious centers outside the court.

**Table 1.1: Text sources for villancicos, oratorios, and other musical works for performance at saint celebrations (S. Vicente, S. Cecília, S. Gonçalo) in Lisbon's parish churches (1700–1723)<sup>21</sup>**

<b>São Vicente (January 21 [Matins]; January 22 [Feast])</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Location<sup>22</sup></b>	<b>Work type<sup>23</sup></b>	<b>Sources<sup>24</sup></b>	<b>Printer<sup>25</sup></b>
1700	See de Lisboa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1701	See de Lisboa	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1702	See de Lisboa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1708	Sé Metropolitana	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1709	Sé Metropolitana	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1710	Sé Metropolitana	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1717	Iglezia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Lisboa Oriental	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1718	Iglezia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Lisboa Oriental	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1719	Metropolitana	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp,	Imprenta de

<sup>21</sup> Sources indicated in Table 1.1 are printed text imprints only. No musical sources are known to exist. Oratorios and accompanying villancicos are shaded in the table.

<sup>22</sup> The various "locations" given here all refer to the same institution, the Sé Cathedral in Lisbon. Designations are taken directly from the title pages of the printed texts, demonstrating the changing name and role of the Sé, especially following 1716, when it becomes the Sé "de Lisboa Oriental" or "del Oriente."

<sup>23</sup> Villancicos are for use in Matins (consistently stated on the printed text's title page) unless otherwise noted. Oratorios were performed on the feast day.

<sup>24</sup> The P-Ln villancico collection often contains two or more identical copies of the same source; see Lopes, *O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa*, Appendix B for complete descriptions of villancico sources in P-Ln and BR-Rn. See Appendix 1 of this dissertation for more detailed source information (collection, call number) for the P-Ln and BR-Rn sources for the 1719–1723 villancico and oratorio documents. I have added other known locations of sources to the table above (P-Cug, P-EVp). In all cases, the sources across the locations cited appear to be identical copies.

<sup>25</sup> Miguel Manescal da Costa (more frequently Miguel Manescal), "Impressor do Santo Officio" (until 1709) or "Impressor del Santo Oficio, y Serenissima Casa de Bragança" printed most musical works used at court and in Lisbon from about 1684 to 1718.

	Catedral del Oriente	(Matins)	BR-Rn	Música
	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Oratorio (Feast)	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
1720	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Villancicos (Matins)	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Mathias Pereyra de Sylva, y Juan Antunes Pedrozo <sup>26</sup>
	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Oratorio (Feast)	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
1721	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Villancicos (Matins)	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Oratorio (Feast)	P-Ln	Imprenta de Música
1722	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Villancicos (Matins)	P-Ln, P-EVp, P-VV, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Oratorio (Feast)	P-Ln, P-EVp	Imprenta de Música
1723	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Villancicos (Matins)	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
	Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente	Oratorio (Feast)	P-Ln	Imprenta de Música

Santa Cecilia (November 21 [Matins]; November 22 [Feast])				
Year	Location <sup>27</sup>	Work type	Sources	Printer
1702	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln	Miguel Manescal
1703	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln	Miguel Manescal
1704	Parochial de	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-	Miguel Manescal

<sup>26</sup> I have not yet encountered any information on this printer.

<sup>27</sup> Since there is no change in reference to the location for these villancicos, spelling has been standardized here to the most common versions: "Parochial de Santa Justa" before 1714 and "Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa" after 1714.

	Santa Justa		EVp	
1705	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1706	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1707	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1708	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1709	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1710	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1711	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1712	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1713	Parochial de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1714	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1715	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1716	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1717	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1718	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Miguel Manescal
1719	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln	Imprenta de Música
1720	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp	Imprenta de Música
	[Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa]	"Missa" <sup>28</sup>	N/A	N/A
1721	Parochial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln	Imprenta de Música

<sup>28</sup> The source for this mass has not been located, though the end of the 1720 villancico text states: "Continuaràn estos cultos todo el dia de mañana: la Misa, que se cantará, es compuesta por Don Francisco Joseph Coutiño; y los Villancicos de todo este dia, por varios insignes Maestros" (These devotions will continue all day tomorrow: the Mass, to be sung, is composed by D. Francisco José Coutinho; and the Villancicos from this whole day, [are] by various distinguished Masters). P-Ln, Res. 197<sup>19</sup> P.

1722	Paroquial Iglesia de Santa Justa	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, P-EVp	Imprensa de Música
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<b>São Gonçalo (January 9 [Matins]; January 10 [Feast])</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Work type</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Printer</b>
1707	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Nazareth das Religiosas descalças de S. Bernardo	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn	Officina de Valentim da Costa Deslâdes <sup>29</sup>
1708	Igreja de N. Senhora de Nazareth das Religiosas descalsas de S. Bernardo	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1709	Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Nazareth das Religiosas Descalças de S. Bernardo	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1710	Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Nazareth das Religiosas descalsas de S. Bernardo	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1712	Igreja do Convento da Esperança	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1713	Igreja do Convento de N. Senhora da Esperança	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1714	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Esperança	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1717	Iglesia de Nuestra	Villancicos	P-Ln, P-EVp,	Miguel Manescal

<sup>29</sup> I have uncovered no information on this printer, though the printed text notes that he was an "Impressor de Sua Magestade" (Printer of His Majesty). P-Ln, Res. 199<sup>11</sup> P.

	Señora de la Esperança		BR-Rn	
1718	Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Esperança	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1719	Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Esperança	Villancicos	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Miguel Manescal
1722	Iglesia del Real Convento de N. S. de la Esperança	Villancicos (Matins)	P-Ln, BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música
	Iglesia del Real Convento de N. S. de la Esperança	Oratorio ("Siesta") <sup>30</sup>	BR-Rn	Imprenta de Música

*Lisbon's Iberian Musical Elite Between Old Traditions and New Realities*

Looking at Table 1.1 more closely, the oratorios coincide with a conspicuous change: the transfer of printing privileges in 1719 from Miguel Manescal to the "Imprenta de Música"—a printing press run by D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau, who was also the composer of the 1719 oratorio. Te y Sagau, a native of Barcelona, made the journey to Lisbon as part of the retinue of Spanish Jesuit and diplomat Don Alvaro Cienfuego, who was involved in the negotiations of the 1708 marriage of João V to Princess Mariana of Austria.<sup>31</sup> The composer quickly took an active role in court musical productions,

<sup>30</sup> The exceptional performance of this oratorio in a convent appears to have necessitated alternate placement in the feast celebration. The oratorio is discussed in detail below.

<sup>31</sup> The basic details regarding D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau's musical career are recounted in Gerhard Doderer, "An Unknown Repertory," 80–85, and inform my discussion here. As Doderer notes, other important studies of the documentary material surrounding Te y Sagau's life include Ana Hatherly's *'A Precioza' de Sôror Maria do Céu: edição atualizada do códice 3773 da Biblioteca Nacional precedida dum estudo histórico*

composing works for various festivities at the royal palace, including cantatas in honor of the (eventual) queen from 1706, as well as the Spanish zarzuelas for the court from 1713. Taken under the protection of the Portuguese court in 1715, Te y Sagau's ascent in Lisbon's musical culture continued that year, when, despite his lack of qualifications, Queen Mariana interceded on his behalf in order to admit Te y Sagau to the Order of Santiago, and João V granted Te y Sagau a royal privilege for the exclusive right to publish and sell music in Lisbon, which he did for approximately ten years in his "Imprensa de Música." It is not clear why Te y Sagau only began to print the villancico texts in 1719.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, the indications of Te y Sagau's favor at court are obvious enough, and as Doderer aptly notes: "The dedication of his most important series of cantatas [1706] to Queen Mariana (Part I), Prince António (Part II), the eminent genealogist Manuel Caetano de Sousa (Part III) and Duke Jaime de Cadaval (Part IV) is evidence of the good relations existing between the composer and the most important

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(Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990), especially CXXIV–CXXV. Some of the most important early, albeit often incomplete, accounts of Te y Sagau's musical career in Lisbon include Inocêncio Francisco da Silva, *Dicionário bibliographico portuguez*, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1858), 256; Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portuguezes*, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 268; and Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *A litteratura hespanhola em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1915), 399–405, as well as his *Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932), 540–542.

<sup>32</sup> From the year of his privilege on music printing, Te y Sagau's Imprensa de Música printed various existing music, including collections of cantatas (see Doderer, "An Unknown Repertory"). It is curious that Manescal continued to print the villancicos through early 1719. So far, I have located no detailed scholarship on Manescal or the transition of musical printing to Te y Sagau. Manescal seems to have retained some printing rights, as the king also charged him with printing the new liturgical and musical material, acquired in Rome, for the Patriarcal Chapel upon its creation in 1716. See Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," Appendix A.

figures of Portuguese nobility."<sup>33</sup> Below, I question the nature of this relationship between Te y Sagau and the court, especially following the distinct Romanization of court musical practice after 1716.

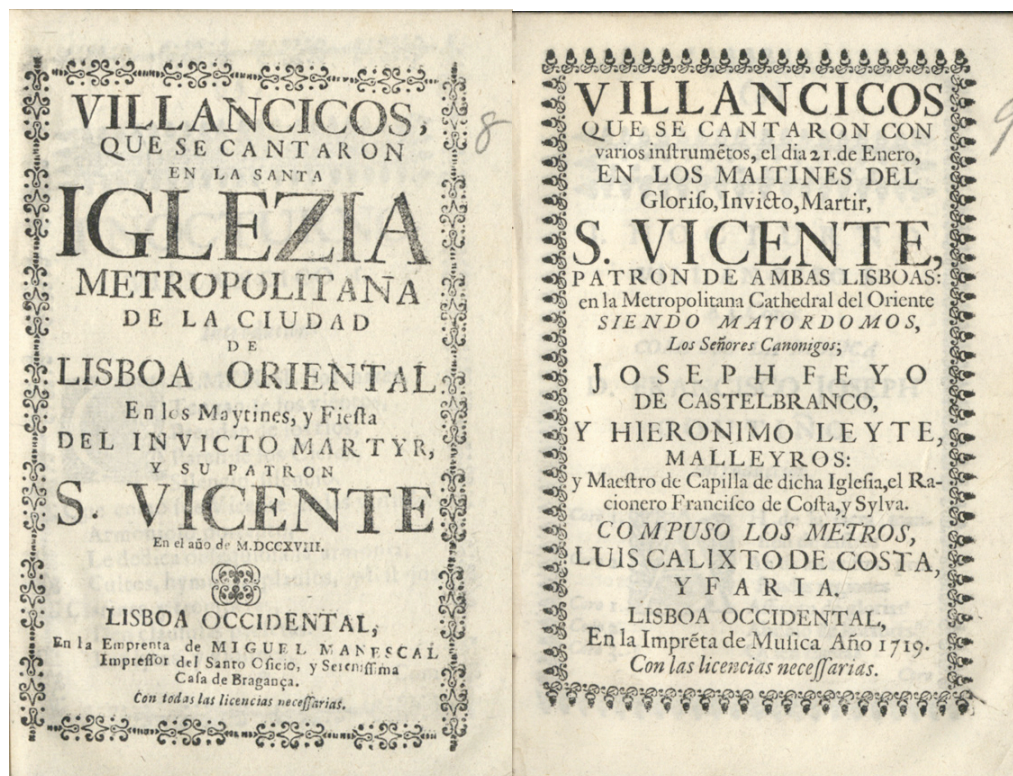
Te y Sagau's imprints from 1719 indeed reveal visible changes to established tradition. Prior to 1719, all villancicos printed by Manescal (both inside and outside court) were entirely anonymous, with no indications of musical or textual authorship, and the prints included only basic details regarding the performance occasion, location, and printer. A comparison of villancico imprint title pages for the feast of São Vicente in Figure 1.2 reveals that Te y Sagau's printed texts from 1719 noted with new detail the names of the composers, poets, and church officials involved in each production, prominently named on the title pages or listed throughout the texts. The new printed texts also contained extensive printed annotations regarding the musical contents of the works, providing valuable information on the vocal and instrumental settings and revealing varied instrumentations, polychoral textures, and the performance of instrumental works throughout the various villancicos and oratorios from 1719.

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<sup>33</sup> Doderer, "An Unknown Repertory," 81–82. This cantata series is the subject of Doderer's article.



Figure 1.2: Comparison of villancico title pages, 1718 (left, printed by Miguel Manescal) and 1719 (right, printed by Jayme de la Te y Sagau). P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>8</sup> P. and Res. 198<sup>9</sup> P.



Recalling Figure 1.1 above, the oratorio imprints adopted the new format, as well, and the first page of the oratorio demonstrates such musical annotations, revealing an opening sonata and an orchestration of "all the instruments" with trumpets and muted timpani.<sup>34</sup> What such details reveal is, most importantly, that Te y Sagau's printing press instituted a wide variety of changes at the level of representation. Such imprints amplified, especially, the extent to which the work's creators and the textual and musical contents

<sup>34</sup> "Dase principio con una Sonata de todos los instrume[n]tos: despues dela qual sigue este 4. con los mismos instrume[n]tos, clarines, y timbales con sordinas" (The work begins with a Sonata of all the instruments: after which follows these four [voices] with the same instruments, trumpets, and timpani with mutes). P-Ln, Res. 198<sup>10</sup> P.

were likely to remain linked in the mind and memory of the audience by virtue of the disseminated printed text. Much like the villancico imprints of the Royal Chapel since the mid-seventeenth-century, Te y Sagau's imprints could have served effectively in the widely disseminated representation of the work's patrons.<sup>35</sup> The question becomes: who were those patrons, and what sort of representation did the new imprints hope to achieve?

By compiling the names of the composers and poets responsible for the works from 1719, now named prominently in each text, Table 1.2 reveals that Te y Sagau contributed compositions to nearly every villancico collection (as well as the oratorios) over the five-year period, as did the Sé's Maestro de Capela Francisco da Costa e Silva. Moreover, a large circle of Lisbon's literary and musical elites also contributed poetry and music variously to these productions.<sup>36</sup> Between the seventeen composers and three named writers represented, eighty villancicos were written and performed, as well as five oratorios and a mass. Of course, there were some repeats and overlaps, making the "newly-composed" number slightly lower, as is the case with the oratorios, only three of

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<sup>35</sup> See Lopes, "Religiosity, Power and Aspects of Social Representation," cited above.

<sup>36</sup> It should also be mentioned that the printed texts for S. Vicente include the names of the various religious officials who acted as "mayordomos" (majordomos, or administrators) of the festivals—1719: Joseph Feyo de CastelBranco (canon [*conégo*], Sé de Lisboa) and Hieronimo Leyte Malleyros (canon; Archdeacon of Santarém [*Arcediogo de Santarém*]); 1720: Juan Cezar de Menezes (dean [*deão*]) and Silvestre de Souza Soares (canon); 1721: Thome Estoffo Ferreyra (canon) and Juan Synel de Cordes (canon); 1722: Antonio Andre (canon) and D. Juan de Almeyda (canon); 1723: Francisco Pery de Linde (cantor [*chantre*]) and Sebastian Estoff (School Master [*Mestre de Escola*]). These figures, drawn from the various positions that made up the archbishopric of east Lisbon under the Sé cathedral, are all among its highest ranks. Fernandes transcribes the list of the "Ministros que serviam na dita Igreja em quanto foi Cathedral dos Arcebispos de Lisboa" (Ministers that served in said Church when it was the Cathedral of the Archbishopry of Lisbon)" held in P-Ln, Res., Cód. 11103 ("O sistema productivo da música sacra," 1:146).

which were new works. By the numbers, in any case, Te y Sagau remains the most active among the various composers represented, and his involvement across all three festivals suggests his role in the organization of these efforts.

**Table 1.2: Poets and composers for the villancicos, oratorios, and other musical works for S. Vicente, S. Cecília, and S. Gonalo (1719–1723)<sup>37</sup>**

	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	Total
<b>Composers</b>						
Andrés da Costa	VSV:7 VSC:7	VSC:2	VSC:4	VSV:3 VSC:4 VSG:6		V:7
Antam de Santo Elias	VSC:3	VSV:3 VSC:3	VSC:6	VSV:7 VSC:6		V:6
Antonio Basilio de Barros				VSC:5		V:1
Antonio Literes		VSV:7 OSV				V:1 O:1
Domingo de la Trinidad				VSC:8		V:1
Emanuel de Astorga (Baron d'Astorga)					VSV:2, 3	V:2
Estevan Ribeiro Francés		VSC:7		VSG:5		V:2
Francisco da Costa e Silva	VSV:3,5,6 VSC:4	VSV:1, 8	VSV:2, 4,6,8 VSC:7	VSV:6, 8	VSV:6, 8	V:15
Francisco Joseph Coutinho	VSV:1 VSC:1	VSC:1 MSC	VSC:1	VSV:4 VSC:1 VSG:1	VSV:1	V:8 M:1

<sup>37</sup> The letters and numbers correspond to the event (VSV=Villancicos, S. Vicente; OSV=Oratorio, S. Vicente; etc.), and the villancico composed out of each collection of eight (not quantity, but order out of eight, since order appears to have been at least an occasional concern). Therefore, the entry for Andrés da Costa in 1719 indicates that the composer composed the seventh villancico in the celebration of S. Vicente and the seventh villancico in the celebration of S. Cecília that year. Jayme de la Te y Sagau's entry for 1719 indicates that the composer provided the music for the second and eighth villancicos for S. Vicente, the entire oratorio for S. Vicente (oratorios were by a single composer), and the fifth villancico for S. Cecília.

Francisco Valls		VSC:6, 8				V:2
Henrique Carlos	VSV:4			VSG:8		V:2
Ignacio Antonio Celestino	VSC:2	VSC:5	VSC:3			V:3
Jayme de la Te y Sagau	VSV:2,8 OSV VSC:5	VSV:2	VSV:1, 3,5,7 OSV VSC:5	VSV:1, 5 OSV VSC:3, 7 VSG:2 OSG	VSV:4, 5,7 OSV	V:17 O:5
Juan Galvan(y)		VSV:5	VSC:2	VSV:2		V:3
Juan de Sylva Moraes	VSC:6	VSC:4	VSC:8	VSC:2 VSG:3, 4,7		V:7
Manoel Ferrer		VSV:4				V:1
Manuel dos Santos	VSC:8	VSV:6				V:2
<b>Totals:</b>						<b>V:80 O: 6</b>
<b>Poets</b>						
Anonymous	VSC:1-8	VSV:1-8 OSV VSC:1-8	VSC:1-8	VSC:1-8		V:40 O:1
Joseph de Egitto				VSG:1-8		V:8
Julian Maciel	OSV		OSV	OSV OSG	OSV	O:5
Luis Calisto de Costa e Faria	VSV:1-8		VSV:1-8	VSV:1-8	VSV:1-8	V:32
<b>Totals:</b>						<b>V:80 O:6</b>

No further evidence could be found to determine how the works of these composers and poets came together to form the villancico and oratorio repertoire in this period. Yet, surveying the careers and social positions of the various contributors in

Table 1.3, the organization of these contributions would have necessitated, at the very least, a highly connected individual with contacts across the Iberian Peninsula, such as Te y Sagau.

**Table 1.3: Biographical details and/or major locations of employment for composers represented in villancico and oratorio imprints, 1719–1723<sup>38</sup>**

Composers

**Andrés da Costa** – Portuguese Royal Chapel and Irmandade de S. Cecilia (Lisbon)  
**Antão de Santo Elias** – Maestro de Capela, Carmelite Convent (Lisbon); Harpist at Sé (Lisbon)  
**Antonio Basílio de Barros** – Nobility, family of the Duke of Lafões (Lisbon)  
**Antonio Literes** – Spanish Royal Chapel, Madrid (Spain)  
**Domingo de la Trinidad** – Clergyman, Order of S. Paulo (Lisbon)  
**Emanuel (Baron) d’Astorga** – Italian nobility, in Lisbon from 1721  
**Estevan Ribeiro Francés** – Portuguese Royal Chapel (Lisbon)  
**Francisco da Costa e Silva** – Maestro de Capela, Sé Cathedral (Lisbon), 1715–1727  
**Francisco José Coutinho** – Nobility, Son of Governor of Angola (Lisbon)  
**Francesc Valls** – Maestro de la Capilla, Barcelona Cathedral (Spain)  
**Henrique Carlos** – Maestro de Capela, Royal Convent of Palmela (Lisbon)  
**Ignacio Antonio Celestino** – Maestro de Capela, Sé Cathedral (Évora)  
**Jayme de la Te y Sagau** – Court composer and poet (Lisbon); Printer – Imprensa de Musica (1715–1726)  
**Juan Galvan(y)** – Unknown  
**Juan de Sylva Moraes** – Maestro de Capela, Santa Caza da Misericórdia; later Sé (Lisbon)  
**Manoel Ferrer** – Unknown  
**Manuel dos Santos** – Order of S. Paulo (Lisbon); Portuguese Royal Chapel; Organist

Poets/Authors:<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Though Oxford Music Online and Grove Music Online account for a few of the most prominent figures listed here, others are described in entries in early dictionaries of Portuguese musicians, such as those by Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1741–1759) and José Mazza [a late eighteenth-century Portuguese court violinist], *Dicionario biographico de musicos portugueses*, ed. by José Augusto Alegria (Lisbon: Revista Ocidente, [1794] 1944/1945). See also Vieira, *Dicionário biográfico de músicos portugueses*; Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal*; and Rui Vieira Nery, *Para a história do barroco musical português (o código 8942 da B.N.L.)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1980).

<sup>39</sup> The poetic texts of the works sometimes remain anonymous. In some cases a note suggests the quality of the authors, however, as in 1720's villancico imprint for S.

**José de Egito** – Clergyman, Convent of S. Francisco (Lisbon)

**Julião Maciel** – Canon, Sé Cathedral, Lisbon; Court poet and librettist (Lisbon)

**Luis Calisto de Costa e Faria** – Abbot, Northern Portugal; Court poet and librettist (Lisbon)

To highlight the far reaching and exclusive status of the figures involved, the composers include Maestros de Capela from several major cathedrals and convents in Portugal, including Francisco da Costa e Silva, Ignacio António Celestino, Antão de Santo Elias, Henrique Carlos, and Juan de Sylva Moraes. Others appear to have been more closely associated with court circles, including Andrés da Costa and Esteban Ribeiro Francés. Composers drawn from the nobility include the well-known Baron d'Astorga, who had arrived in Lisbon from his native Italy in 1721, and Francisco José Coutinho, who as the son of the governor of Angola enjoyed such social status that his villancico contributions were most often placed in the first position of the set.<sup>40</sup> From Spain, the contributions of Antonio Literes, then a musician at the Real Capela in Madrid, and Francesc Valls, Maestro de la Capilla at the Barcelona Cathedral, are especially notable and speak, again, to the possibility that Te y Sagau—who had lived and worked, at least briefly, in both cities—was responsible for organizing the contributions of these composers. In Spain, prior to coming to Lisbon, Te y Sagau worked in his native city as a musician at the Barcelona Cathedral, likely overlapping, if only slightly, with Francesc Valls's work at

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Vicente: "Compuzieron los metros / Los mejores ingenios de / Portugal, y Castilla" (The meters were composed by the best talents of Portugal and Castille).

<sup>40</sup> See Table 1.2 above; of the eight villancicos that Coutinho contributed, seven are the first in the set. He also contributed works for all three festivals, as did Andrés da Costa, which perhaps speaks to their high level of involvement.

that cathedral as Maestro de la Capilla (1696–1726).<sup>41</sup> Te y Sagau also spent a period in Madrid, possibly acquiring his printing skills in that city with Joseph de Torres y Martinez Bravo.

Regarding the poets, both Luis Calisto da Costa e Faria and Julião Maciel enjoyed Portuguese court productions of their Spanish-style dramas at least from 1711 to 1713. In 1711, Maciel contributed the text of a *fiesta armónica* entitled *Fabula de Acis y Galatea* (composer unknown) for the king's birthday celebrations on October 22. Two years later (1713), Costa e Faria wrote the text of a *zarzuela* for the same occasion entitled *El poder de la armonia*, which was set to music by Te y Sagau. It is worth noting that the contributions of these authors, as established court poets, to the 1719–1723 villancicos and oratorios runs against typical perceptions of villancico texts, which frequently lacked in literary skill or poetic prowess. To be fair, as Laird has demonstrated, "[v]illancico texts are of uneven quality, and sometimes were hastily composed by poets of limited ability."<sup>42</sup> Writing against the typical (and sometimes too hasty) deprecation of villancico poetic texts as a whole, Stevenson fittingly notes of Costa e Faria's villancico contributions: "Therefore when in 1719, 1721, 1722, and 1723 he wrote the verses for the St. Vincent villancicos sung each of those years 'with various instruments' on January 21

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<sup>41</sup> The end date of Valls period as Maestro de la Capilla in Barcelona is debated, with some dating the end as late as 1741. Sagau is also probably the harpist who replaced Felip Roca at the Barcelona Cathedral in 1689, though there remains little further evidence on this issue. See Oxford Music Online and Grove Music Online's biographical entries on these two composers for the basic details of these debates.

<sup>42</sup> Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*, 153. Laird goes on to discuss the quality and concerns of Spanish villancico texts in this period in Chapter 4 of the same book. Stevenson discusses several instances in which scholarship has deprecated the value of Portuguese villancico poetic texts in *Vilancicos portugueses*, XLVII–XLVIII.

in the cathedral, he approached his task not as a hack or a novice, but as an already recognized and favored court poet."<sup>43</sup> Neither Costa e Faria nor Maciel lacked the ability to produce high quality works, and their villancico and oratorio poetic texts betray the quality of their previous courtly productions.

Aside from establishing the apparent textual and musical quality of the works produced under Te y Sagau, the question of performance forces remains more difficult. For the São Vicente oratorios, the Sé's vocal forces—the *Capelães Cantores* (Chapel Singers) and *Meninos de Coro* (choirboys) of the Cathedral—would likely have performed the vocal parts. The Meninos de Coro would have sung the soprano (*tiple*) parts with the rest (contralto, tenor, bass) being the domain of the adult Chapel Singers.<sup>44</sup> Regarding instrumental forces, certainly, many of the composers involved with the villancico/oratorio productions were also known performers and may have been involved in the performance, including Te y Sagau (harp), Antão de Santo Elias (harp, known to have worked as a harpist in the Sé), Francisco José Coutinho (keyboard, viola), and Manuel dos Santos (organist). Other musicians may have been drawn from the instrumentalists of the Royal Chapel, a hypothesis suggested by the involvement of Pedro Jorge Avondano, a violinist of the Royal Chapel since 1711, who composed the sonatas "for all the instruments" that preceded the São Vicente villancicos of 1721–1723, as

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<sup>43</sup> Stevenson, *Vilancicos portugueses*, XLVII–XLVIII.

<sup>44</sup> See Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra," 146–149; and Joseph Scherpereel, "Os Meninos do Coro da Sé de Lisboa e a sua organização até à revolução liberal de 1834," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 13 (2003): 35–52. Though in the new Patriarcal, castrati were used exclusively for high voice from 1719, the Sé (later known as the Basílica de Santa Maria) did not hire castrati and maintained the practice of youth singers until the nineteenth century.



indicated in printed texts, as well as introductory sonatas for the villancicos for the Santa Justa celebration of Santa Cecília (1720–1722).<sup>45</sup> Though not named in the printed text, Avondano was likely the composer of the sonatas that preceded the villancicos of 1719 for both S. Vicente and S. Cecília, as well.

Of course, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the annotations and details discussed above reflect new practices or simply reveal previously undocumented traditions, since Manescal's earlier imprints maintain complete anonymity. The 1719–1723 villancicos for S. Vicente, S. Cecília, and S. Gonçalo, rife with such details, are a clear break in the previous tradition of printed texts. Lopes has suggested that some of these composers likely contributed to prior villancico productions, but his detailed analysis of the textual sources demonstrates that none of the works from 1719–1723 were performed at the Royal Chapel prior to 1716.<sup>46</sup> While it would be unlikely that the villancicos and oratorios in 1719 are by all new composers and poets, the works appear to have been newly written and composed for the 1719–1723 performances—both because they do not replicate prior productions, but also, as will be demonstrated below, because

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<sup>45</sup> Pietro Giorgio Avondano had arrived in Portugal from his native Genova in 1711 to work in the Royal Chapel, where he remained throughout his life. He appears in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musikalisches Lexicon*, where Walther lists the members of the orchestra of the Portuguese Royal Chapel as it existed in 1728; see *Musikalisches Lexicon, oder musikalische Bibliothek*, facsimile edition (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, [1732] 1953), 492. Yordanova also notes that Pietro Giorgio's signature appears in the statutes of the Irmandade de Santa Cecília (Lisbon's musical fraternity) in 1749, indicating that he was one of the most important musicians in the city at that time (Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal," 1:56).

<sup>46</sup> See Lopes's Appendix D, where he examines textual concordances across the Royal Chapel and Lisbon's parish church repertoires.

the texts of the villancicos and oratorios from 1719–1723 take on themes specific to the cultural moment in which they were produced.

### *1719–1723: Doubling Down*

When the oratorios appear in 1719, they join not only the longstanding tradition of villancico performance, but they join it at a discernable and peculiar moment of change. Never before had a Portuguese villancico imprint so deliberately named the figures behind its creation. Furthermore, the addition of the oratorio resulted in a musical celebration that in a single year had effectively doubled in size, and two printed texts now stood to represent the creators behind the traditional villancicos and new oratorios.

Yet for all the details found in Te y Sagau's printed texts, the sudden appearance of the oratorio remains unresolved—in fact, it seems counterintuitive that works that were so integrally related to villancico tradition would appear after João V had already eliminated these musical traditions at court. Recalling Figures 1.1 and 1.2, Te y Sagau's new title pages from 1719 give some indication. Aside from numerous other details, beneath the prominently located saint's name "São Vicente"—in boldface raised to a higher position on the page than in previous years—Te y Sagau added a conspicuous phrase: "Patron of *both* Lisbons."<sup>47</sup> The sentiment crossed over to Te y Sagau's other printed villancico texts for Santa Cecilia later that same year, where the title page indicated that the villancicos were dedicated to Santa Cecilia's cult by “the Noble

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<sup>47</sup> "Patron de *ambas* Lisboa." My emphasis.

Musicians of *both* Lisbons.”<sup>48</sup> The addition of such wording suggests the degree to which Te y Sagau and the various musicians (composers, poets, etc.) involved in the productions felt, or at least were aware of, the strain of their recently divided city, especially since compositions such as villancicos (as well as the musicians who typically provided them) appear to have been on the losing side of the divide.

Though the sentiment crosses Te y Sagau's texts for both S. Vicente and S. Cecília,<sup>49</sup> it is the festival of S. Vicente that sees its productions effectively doubled that year, and perhaps for good reason—S. Vicente of Saragossa, Lisbon's patron saint and a centuries-old symbol of Portuguese popular devotion, would have served to link the new musical spectacle to the fabric of Lisbon's popular and very public religious life at the once prestigious and increasingly challenged Sé. The symbol also stood to question the division of Lisbon, highlighted so prominently in Te y Sagau's texts: if S. Vicente was the well-known patron saint of Lisbon (singular), how exactly was he to serve as patron over two Lisbons?

Presumably, João V hoped to center S. Vicente's patronage on the new Patriarcal, which acted as the new center of Lisbon's religious orbit. A curious letter from 1717 speaks to this idea, demonstrating that the Patriarcal began to celebrate the feast of S.

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<sup>48</sup> The title page reads: "VILLANCICOS, / QUE SE CANTARON CON VARIOS / Instrumentos, el dia 21. de Noviembre, / en los Maytines de la Gloriosa, Invi- / cta, Virgen, y Martyr, / S.TA CECILIA, / EN LA PARROCHIAL IGLESIA / de Santa Justa: CUYO REVERENTE, Y DEVOTO CULTO, / **la dedicaron, los Señores Musicos de ambas Lisboa.** / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica Año de 1719. / *Con licencia de los Superiores.*" Translated excerpt in bold; my emphasis. For the "Señores Musicos" referred to here, see Tables 1.2 and 1.3 above.

<sup>49</sup> The 1719 S. Gonçalo texts were printed by Miguel Manescal and remain in that printer's style. Villancicos do not appear again for the S. Gonçalo feast until 1722, but those printed texts speak to somewhat different circumstances discussed further below.

Vicente just months after its elevation. On January 21 of that year, the new Patriarch D.

Tomás de Almeida sent the following letter to the Senators of the Senado da Câmara of Lisboa Occidental to solicit their presence at the festival of São Vicente at the Patriarchal on the following day:

Tomorrow will be celebrated the festival of S. Vicente in the Santa Igreja Patriarchal, and for this celebration of this [Saint] to whom we owe so much to be more plausible, I beg that Your Lordships would attend it, and I will never lack in being in all ways at your service.<sup>50</sup>

That the Patriarch felt it imperative to solicit the presence of west Lisbon's senators is indicative of the shifting politics of the new celebration. Perhaps the senators would have attended the Sé's celebration, or no celebration at all, but in any case, the new institution lacked the long history of the Sé's relationship to Lisbon's patron saint as the center of his cult and the temple that held his relics.

The long-standing relationship between the Sé and Saint Vincent of Saragossa dates back to the late twelfth century when D. Afonso Henriques, Portugal's first king, ordered the translation of the saint's relics to Lisbon.<sup>51</sup> Many versions of the saint's legend exist, but that which remains popular in Portuguese history recounts the third-

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<sup>50</sup> P-Lam, Núcleo Histórico, Chancelaria Régia, Livro I de Consultas e Decretos de D. João V, do Senado Ocidental, fol. 94v. "Amanhaá se há de celebrar a festa de S. Vicente em a S[an]ta Igr[e]ja Patriarchal, e p[ara] ser mais plauzível este festejo de hu Santo [?] a quem tanto devemos, rogo a V[o]s[s]a S[enho]ria queira assistirlhe, e eu nunca faltarei em tudo o que do serv[iço] de V[o]s[s]a S[enho]ria a Q[ue]m Deos g[uar]de. L[i]x[bo]a Occidental 21 de Jan[eir]o 1717." Thanks to Cristina Fernandes for her help in transcribing this letter and determining its meaning.

<sup>51</sup> Accounts of the legend of S. Vicente, including depictions of the saint's Portuguese iconography, can be found in Aires Augusto Nascimento and Saul António Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais* (Lisbon: Edições Didaskalia, 1988); and Isabel Alçada Cardoso, dir., *São Vicente, Diácono e Mártir: Padroeiro de Lisboa*, exhibition catalog (Lisbon: Centro Cultural de Lisboa Pedro Hispano, 2005).

century martyrdom of S. Vicente in Valencia, Spain, where he served as a deacon and was imprisoned, tortured, and killed under the persecution of Christians by Dacian, a proconsul of the Emperor Diocletian. Following his martyrdom, legend has it that ravens protected S. Vicente's body from vultures, animals, and other human enemies, as S. Vicente's devotees sought safety for the saint's corpse. Eventually S. Vicente's devotees moved the saint's body to the southern shore of Portugal (now Cabo São Vicente, or Saint Vincent's Cape, named in his honor), where they constructed a chapel and shrine—which remained continually guarded by ravens—over S. Vicente's new Portuguese burial site. When D. Afonso discovered the relics at the Cape, he ordered them to be transported to Lisbon by ship, and ravens reportedly accompanied the saint on this voyage, as well. The passage of the ship guarded by ravens remains immortalized today in S. Vicente's iconography and on Lisbon's flag and coat of arms.

Though the Sé utilized paraliturgical villancicos in Matins of the feast of S. Vicente from at least 1700—in which the eight villancicos, typically, recounted various scenes or thematic areas from S. Vicente's martyrdom—with the addition of the oratorio, the dramatic retelling of S. Vicente's legend increased twofold. Thus, Costa e Faria constructed the eight villancicos in 1719 as chronological phases of the saint's life and martyrdom, from his birth through the arrival of the saint's body in Lisbon (see Table 1.4), while the oratorio that follows, with a text by Maciel, is able to leave aside hagiographical details in favor of a more expansive narrative and contemplative view of S. Vicente's legacy and Lisbon's cult in particular (see Table 1.5 below).

**Table 1.4: 1719 villancicos for S. Vicente, structural outline. Texts by Luis Calixto da Costa e Faria. Composers listed in table.**

NOCTURNO I			
VILLANCICO I: D. Francisco José Coutinho			
Part	Vocal Setting <sup>52</sup>	First Line	Subject
1) Introduction	Choirs 1–4	<i>Ah de la sacra mansion de zafiros</i>	Vicente's birth
2) Recitative		<i>Verân que la Divina Omnipotencia</i>	
3) Aria		<i>Verân que en el sufrir</i>	
4) Coplas	Choirs 3 and 4	<i>En el natal de Vicente</i>	
5) Estribillo	Choirs 1–4	<i>Es todo el Cielo aplauso</i>	
VILLANCICO II: D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau			
1) Aria		<i>Huesca, su patria</i>	Early life in Huesca and Zaragoza, Spain
2) Coplas		<i>Sin duda la planta</i>	
3) Recitativo		<i>Alisten las provincias del tormento</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Aunque se viò aplicar</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>Canten los cielos, canten</i>	
VILLANCICO III: Francisco da Costa e Silva			
1) Introduction	Choir 3	<i>A sembrar saliò Vicente</i>	Conflict with Daciano in Valencia
2) Aria	Solo 1; Choir 4	<i>Siembra sin temer</i>	
3) Recitative	Solo 2; Choirs 3 and 4	<i>Daciano valeroso</i>	
4) Coplas	Solo 1 and 2	<i>Vicente, tu eloquencia</i>	
5) Recitative	Solo 1 and 2	<i>Con sacros manantiales</i>	
6) Aria	Solo 1 and 2	<i>Tu fino amor, tu zelo fiel</i>	
7) Estribillo	Choirs 3 and 4	<i>La Fè puras alas ya excita a sus buelos</i>	
NOCTURNO II			
VILLANCICO IV: Fr. Henrique Carlos			
1) Introduction		<i>Preven, preven, Vicente</i>	Imprisonment and

<sup>52</sup>The villancico imprints indicate vocal settings only for those movements featuring multiple soloists or choirs. In some cases, the absence of vocal markings perhaps indicates a single solo voice (as in villancico I, for the recitative and aria); in other cases, the absence appears more suspicious, for instance in villancico II, unless the entire villancico was performed by a single soloist. In any case, the use of four choirs in villancicos I and III is particularly noteworthy. Eighteenth-century villancicos, in Portugal and elsewhere, rarely utilized such expansive performance forces; previous years at the Sé do not indicate whether this was a common occurrence. See Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," and Stevenson, *Vilancicos portugueses*.

2) Coplas		<i>Ya à Valencia en prisiones</i>	persecution
3) Recitative		<i>No es mucho yà que el Ostracismo en Grecia</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Mas nadie desmaye</i>	
5) Coplas		<i>Inutil, O Daciano</i>	
6) Estribillo		<i>No se alegre tu fiera impiedad</i>	
VILLANCICO V: Francisco da Costa e Silva			
1) Introduction		<i>Con los hierros pesados</i>	Faith throughout torture
2) Coplas		<i>Dios Immenso, mi afecto amoroso</i>	
3) Recitative		<i>Oyò grato el Motor Omnipotente</i>	
4) Aria		<i>O que contento se halla el dolor</i>	
5) Grave		<i>Puesto en Dios, y en su premio el pensamiento</i>	
VILLANCICO VI: Francisco da Costa e Silva			
1) Introduction		<i>Con admiracion los Cielos</i>	Death of Vicente
2) Recitativo		<i>Viendo Daciano que a vencer no basta</i>	
3) Aria		<i>Este ardor mi afecto inflama</i>	
4) Coplas		<i>Mira Daciano frustrado su orgullo</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>Assi muriendo alcança</i>	
NOCTURNO III			
VILLANCICO VII: Andrés da Costa			
1) Introduction		<i>Estrellas brillantes</i>	Reception of Vicente in Heaven
2) Coplas		<i>Con dulce voz los Angeles</i>	
3) Recitativo		<i>El Monarca Divino</i>	
4) Aria		<i>El justo se mira</i>	
5) Coplas		<i>Que dichosas fueron</i>	
6) Estribillo		<i>Tu grandeza, Señor, solemnizen</i>	
VILLANCICO VIII: D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau			
1) Coplas	Solo 1 and 2	<i>Esta flota, que puebla los mares</i>	Transport of Vicente's body to Lisbon
2) Recitative		<i>Ya el feliz Bucentòro, que conduze</i>	
3) Aria		<i>Suba, suba, tu plazer</i>	
4) Coplas		<i>Vencedor siempre</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>Con voces, que innunden del orbe el confin</i>	

**Table 1.5: 1719 oratorio for S. Vicente, structural outline. Text by Julião Maciel. Music by D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau.<sup>53</sup>**

Part	Instrumentation <sup>54</sup>	Vocal Setting	First Line	Subject
1) Introduction	All instruments; Trumpets; Muted Timpani	a 4	<i>De Vicente, en el triunfo sin igual</i>	Musical celebration of Vicente's glory
2) Coplas	Violas (first four stanzas); All instruments, Bugles, Muted Timpani (last stanza)	a 4; alternating	<i>Suene, informando al Mundo</i>	
3) Recitative		Solo 1	<i>Que mucho q. le dén la bien venida</i>	Vicente compared to Adam
4) Aria	Violins	[Solo 1]	<i>La ciencia estudio</i>	
5) Coplas a duo	No instruments	Solo 2/3	<i>Gustando el pan de la vida</i>	Vicente compared to Christ; martyrdom over idolatry; metaphor of tares (weeds) and wheat
6) Recitativo		Solo 4	<i>Como Christo, Vicente</i>	
7) Aria	Violins	[Solo 4]	<i>Vicente es el vencedor</i>	
8) Coplas a solo	Violins	Solo 2	<i>Triunfo de la zizaña</i>	
9) Recitative		Solo 3	<i>Sin que tema su aliento</i>	
10) Aria	Violins; Viola	Solo 3	<i>Porque triunfe Vicente</i>	
11) Recitativo	Violins; Viola	a 4	<i>Tan firme, tan immobil</i>	Vicente's strength against Daciano's
12) Coplas a solo	Bassoons	Solo 4	<i>Poco Vicente</i>	

<sup>53</sup> Shading within the chart represents the generalized grouping of individual movements into larger scenes (sometimes with sub-scenes) by thematic focus.

<sup>54</sup> Instruments are noted in the printed text and are translated here as: bugle (*clarin*); trumpet (*trompeta*); bassoon (*fagote*); viola (*violeta*); cello (*violon*); timpani (*timbale*).



13) Recitative a duo		Solo 2 and 3	<i>Por mas que sea obscura</i>	persecution and torment; metaphor of volcano (Etna) burning in Vicente; reception in Heaven after death
14) Aria a duo	Violins; Viola	[Solo 2 and 3]	<i>Martir invicto</i>	
15) Coplas a solo	Violas	Solo 1	<i>Mas antes q. del fuego lo voraz</i>	
16) Aria	Violin; Cello; Bassoons	Solo 1	<i>Constante Vicente</i>	
17) Recitative	Violins; Violas	a 4	<i>Daciano, loco, y ciego</i>	
18) Coplas a Duo		Duo 1 and 2/ Duo 3 and 4	<i>Saña inclemente</i>	
19) Recitative	Violins; Violas	a 4; varying combinations	<i>Arde Vicente, y arde entre diluvios</i>	
20) Aria a duo	Violins; Violas	Solo 1 and 4	<i>Arded, penad</i>	
21) Coplas a solo	Bassoons; Violins; Violas; Plucked Cellos ("punteados")	Solo 3	<i>Vencido el fuego</i>	
22) Recitative a duo		Solo 1 and 2	<i>Ya en la patria feliz, alma dichosa</i>	Vicente crowned
23) Coplas a duo and a 4	Violins; Violas	Duo 1 and 2; Duo 3 and 4; a 4	<i>Alma dichosa</i>	
24) Recitative		Solo 2	<i>Sacrilego Daciano</i>	Vicente's body defended by ravens
25) Aria	Violines; Viola	[Solo 2]	<i>Del cuervo al obsequio</i>	
26) Coplas a duo	Violas; last stanza "without" violas	Solo 1 and 3	<i>Pero ni estos assombros</i>	Vicente's body buried in the sea
27) Coplas <sup>55</sup>	Violins; Violas; Cellos	a 4, varying combinations	<i>No te ausentes, pues no dexas</i>	
28) Recitative		Solo 2	<i>No bien dexò el acento</i>	Return of Vicente's body

<sup>55</sup> A note is printed in the text here: "Repiten esta Copla los 4" (The four voices repeat this Copla).

29) Aria	Violins; Viola	[Solo 2]	<i>No es bien</i>	to shore; Ready to become Lisbon's patron
30) Coplas		Solo 1	<i>Passareis a ser Patron</i>	
31) Recitative		Solo 4	<i>Assi fue, pues de Alfo[n]so a diligencias</i>	Transfer of body to Lisbon by ship; Temple and cult established
32) Aria	Violins; Violas	[Solo 4]	<i>En Lisboa, y no en Leon</i>	
33) Coplas a duo	Bassoons	Solo 3 and 4	<i>Aqui estareis del Templo</i>	
34) Recitative		[Solo 3 and 4]	<i>Y pues que de Vicente oy es el dia</i>	Musical celebration inferior to virtuous voices imitating Vicente
35) Aria	Cello	[Solo 3 and 4]	<i>No grite el Clarin</i>	
36) [Finale]	All instruments	a 4	<i>Y si, porque despierte de su error</i>	

Maciel's oratorio thus alternates contemplative and narrative movements between unnamed dramatic figures. While not divided into specific scenes by Maciel or Te y Sagau, the drama of the oratorio appears to develop according to six multi-sectional phases of subject matter, shaded in Table 1.5. The first and last scenes (No. 1–2; No. 34–36) frame the work in musical terms that underscore the new musical addition to the villancicos, calling on the followers of S. Vicente (No. 1):

[Solo 1] <i>Suene el clamor del Violin,</i>	Sound the noisy Violin,
[Solo 2] <i>clame el rumor del Timbal</i>	Bang the loud Timpani,
[Solo 3] <i>grite el clangor del Clarin,</i>	Blow the clanging Trumpet,
[all 4] <i>suene el Violin, el Timbal, y el Clarin.</i>	Sound the Violin, Timpani, and Trumpet.

Subsequent texts call on the followers to "sound, informing the world" (Suene, informando al mundo), then draw attention to the action of musicians themselves (No. 2):

*Suene, y no cessen,  
los musicos aplausos,  
los jubilos cadentes,  
que de acorde armonia el ayre pueblen;  
Ya que alegres, los puros  
espirtus celestes,  
gratulaciones justas  
dedican, a las glorias de Vicente.*

Sound, and don't stop  
The celebrated musicians  
The jubilant cadences  
That fill the air with sonorous harmony;  
Since already the joyous, the pure  
Celestial spirits,  
Dedicate just congratulations  
To the glory of Vicente.

The music of these opening scenes utilizes a comparatively full orchestration, including brass and percussion, and they stand as bold musical framework for the central dramatic content of the work. Drawing to a close, the text calls for a reevaluation of the musically-driven opening. Effectively negating the apparent musical pomposity of the oratorio's opening—which called for the sounding of the trumpet, violin, and timpani—an aria with solo cello accompaniment (the only such aria in the work) rescinds the opening demand (No. 35):

*No grite el Clarin,  
ni clame el Violin,  
ni gima el Timbal:  
Pues oy que a Vicente  
dedica cadente  
el culto armonias,  
todo es suavidad.*

The trumpet should not shout,  
Nor violin cry out,  
Nor the timpani sob.  
For today the tuneful cult  
Is dedicated harmoniously  
To Vicente,  
All is softness.

The finale that follows again displays the full orchestral forces and states that the virtuous voices of men awakened from error by the imitation of S. Vicente's virtue, are "mejor que el Violin, / mejor que el Timbal, / mejor que el Clarin, / exciten, y muevan à su imitacion" (better than the violin, better than the timpani, better than the trumpet, exciting and moving in his imitation). Given what is known about the quality of musicians, composers, and poets involved in the creation of this work, the audience must

have recognized exactly how good those virtuous voices would have to be to outdo the musical contribution of the new oratorio.

The central scenes (some of which are further divided into more detailed subsections in the table above) develop several topics relevant to S. Vicente's life, offering abstract and reflective narratives on Vicente's role as a saint. The musical annotations that accompany these various texts suggest a nuanced approach to accompaniment across the central sections, alternating strings, bassoon, and (likely) organ/harp continuo accompaniment according to text and musical section (recitatives, arias, and coplas).<sup>56</sup> The musical indications further reveal several typical accompaniment patterns that coincide with recitative and more song-like structures: simple recitative sections (left unmarked in the texts) were likely accompanied by organ or harp, no winds or strings), while various combinations of strings (violin/viola/cello) and winds (bassoons) provide accompaniment for arias and coplas. While the arias are typically accompanied by violin and viola, the coplas are highly variable and, in fact, no two coplas in the entire oratorio utilize the same combination of vocal texture (solo/duo/quartet) and musical accompaniment (unaccompanied to various combinations of strings and bassoons). Outside these scorings, accompanied recitatives and more

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<sup>56</sup> The bassoon was utilized uniquely in Portuguese religious music and court ceremony not only as a continuo and accompaniment instrument, but also as an obbligato instrument, especially in small instrumental groupings with strings and voice for Requiem masses and settings for Holy Week. This musical tradition is attested to in many manuscript musical sources and court documents (such as the royal financial records in P-Lant for payment of bassoonists throughout the eighteenth century). The tradition appears to be without parallel in Europe and transferred to Brazil with the court in 1807, but it remains to be investigated. See Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra," 97.

extensively scored arias and coplas can be seen to underscore particularly important moments in the drama. The central extended scene (Nos. 11–21), for instance, utilizes various combinations of strings and winds, but the addition of bassoons and cellos "punteados" (plucked) to the coplas "Vencido el fuego" (The fire extinguished; No. 21) suggests a musical emphasis on the crucial moment of S. Vicente's martyrdom. The text, recounting S. Vicente's strength against the persecution leading to his martyrdom, ends with the moment of S. Vicente's physical death and transformation:

<i>Dexado el cuerpo, hospeda pura al alma</i>	Leaving his body, his soul was hosted purely
<i>de la Curia Celeste el coro excelso,</i>	By the excellent choir of the Heavenly
	Curia,
<i>cuya entrada a los Angeles fue gozo,</i>	The ascent of which was joy to the Angels
<i>y a los Santos reciproco festejo.</i>	And likewise celebration to the Saints.

Within the larger dramatic and musical concerns of the work, however, an underlying concern creeps up in several instances. Betraying the contemporary conflict over the elevation of the Royal Chapel and subsequent demotion of the Sé Cathedral in Lisbon's political and religious power schemes, the final villancico by Te y Sagau and Costa e Faria comments directly on the new precedence of Rome. Far from upholding that new precedence, the text appears to deflect any interest therein back to Lisbon's longstanding relationship with S. Vicente:

Villancico III, *Aria*

<i>Suba, suba tu plazer</i>	Lift up, lift up your pleasure
<i>O Lisboa, hasta el zenit</i>	Oh, Lisbon, to the highest point
<i>Que Vicente en su favor</i>	Because Vicente in his favor
<i>Te assegura lo feliz.</i>	Assures you the happiness.

*Si con gloria sin igual  
Mejor Roma se halla en ti  
Todo es fruto de escoger  
Por Patron este Adalid.*

**If with unequalled glory  
Rome can be found better in you**  
All is the product of selecting  
This leader [S. Vicente] as Patron.

Later, in the oratorio, S. Vicente's new patronage over *both* Lisbons appears somewhat impudently praised as adding to S. Vicente's glory:

*Coplas (Solo 1)  
Passareis a ser Patron  
Vicente de otra leal,  
ya por vòs sacra region  
donde los Cuervos seràn la señal  
para que os halle una Real devocion.*

Thou will be Patron  
Vicente from another place,  
Now for you a sacred region  
Of which the Ravens will be the sign  
From which will be found a Royal devotion.

*Preheminente a todo el Mar  
asiento alli tendreis fiel  
sin temer, ni recelar,  
ni de Daciano la saña cruel,  
ni la traydora azechanza de Ismar.*

Privileged by all of the Sea  
There Thou will have a faithful seat  
Without fear, without suspicion,  
Without the cruel fury of Dacian  
Without the suspicious treachery of Ismar.

*Mas sereis por mas blason  
Mas lustre, mas magestad  
De dos Lisboaas patron,  
porque seria una sola Ciudad  
corto desvelo a tan gran proteccion.*

More, thou will be, more heralded,  
More lustrous, more majestic  
**As patron of two Lisbons.**  
Because a single City would be  
Cut short of the watchfulness of your great  
protection.

In its specific creation for the Sé's feast of S. Vicente, the 1719 oratorio stands against contemporary Spanish oratorio traditions not only in its textual concern, but also with regard to its musical structure.<sup>57</sup> First, in the large-scale linking of the villancico and oratorio texts, this first Portuguese oratorio remains unique. I have been unable to

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<sup>57</sup> Based on Iberian musical styles, the Portuguese oratorios discussed here have little to do with contemporary Italian, German, or French iterations of the genre. For general discussions of European oratorio in this period, see Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, Vol. 3, *A History of the Oratorio*. In this section, I focus on the relationship between these oratorios and Spanish traditions, which seem to be more intimately related.

identify similar practices—the combination of villancico and oratorio productions in a single liturgical feast celebration—in Spanish contexts. In Spain, the production of oratorio resembled Italian oratorio in most contexts (though it remained in many ways distinct according to musical style), but especially in the performance of oratorios as part of the practices of the Congregation of the Oratorio. Rather than replace the villancicos, it seems that the oratorio was meant to expand them, effectively amplifying the meaning and effect of both works as part of Portuguese paraliturgical music and devotional practice in 1719. Furthermore, in its single-movement structure, the Portuguese oratorios stands against early Spanish traditions, where such works were utilized in the services of the Congregation of the Oratorians and as such were typically structured in two parts to allow a sermon.<sup>58</sup> In Spain, moreover, even the earliest oratorios developed as a dramatic dialogue between named characters.<sup>59</sup>

In 1720, the villancicos and oratorios for S. Vicente continued to engage the complicated politics of a Lisbon split in two, though the work's Spanish composer draws the oratorio's content into closer proximity to contemporary Spanish traditions. The 1720 oratorio by Antonio Literes, for instance, engages the characters Amor (Love), Lusitania (a historical term referring to Portuguese-speaking domains), Culto (Cult), and Embidia

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<sup>58</sup> See Smither, "The Spanish Oratorio," 602–609; Sánchez Siscart, "Aportaciones sobre el oratorio español en el siglo XVIII"; and Ballester "El oratorio barroco hispánico."

<sup>59</sup> A representative example, the 1706 Spanish Passion oratorio by António Teodoro Ortells, includes five characters—Magdalena (S), Ángel (S), María Santísima (A), Luzifer (T), San Juan (B)—and is split into two parts. See Ortells score and recording in bibliography for sources. Even saint oratorios, such as Pedro Rabassa's *Oratorio Sacro a San Juan Bautista*, written for the Congregation of San Felipe Neri in Valencia (1720), draws five characters, including the saint and several allegorical figures, into a dramatic setting in two parts—San Juan (T), Angel (A), La Gracia (S), El Furor (B), La Ira (S).

Infernal (Infernal Rage [*Envidia Infernal*]) in an allegorical dialogue that reflects the deep integration of S. Vicente's cult into Portuguese history—a practice of character dialogue resonant with contemporary Spanish oratorio compositions. The villancicos prepare this dialogue by outlining S. Vicente's cult in Lisbon through various historical moments and institutions that define its relationship to that city, as outlined in Table 1.6.

**Table 1.6: 1720 villancicos for S. Vicente, structural outline. Texts by "los mejores ingenios de Portugal, y Castilla" (the best talents of Portugal and Castille). Composers listed in table.**

NOCTURNO I			
VILLANCICO I: Francisco da Costa e Silva			
Part	Setting	First Line	Subject
1) Introduction	Solo 1–4, with choir	<i>Oyd, oyd mortales</i>	Musical praise (celestial choirs and musicians); Develops idea of cult
2) Recitative		<i>Si del Empireo pues los Ciudadanos</i>	
3) Aria		<i>Goza, goza dichozo</i>	
4) Coplas		<i>Daciano tus iras</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>Al compaso de las clausulas dulces</i>	
VILLANCICO II "Cantata": D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau			
1) Introduction		<i>Surca el golfo de Atlante</i>	Mythological focus on Tagus river and the arrival of Ulysses; related to arrival of Vicente
2) Coplas		<i>De pon, Tajo, el reposo</i>	
3) Recitative		<i>Salve siempre glorioso</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Logre en tu corriente</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>De Vicente glorioso las aras</i>	
VILLANCICO III: Fr. Antão de Santo Elias			
1) Introduction		<i>Fausto dichozo dia</i>	Vicente's cult and celebration at the Sé (Bazilica famoza); relics
2) Coplas		<i>Inclito Heroe, Martyr protentozo</i>	
3) Estribillo		<i>Para que todo el mundo</i>	
4) Recitative		<i>Y tu insigne Bazilica famoza</i>	
5) Aria		<i>Por Dios vertistes la sangre</i>	
NOCTURNO II			
VILLANCICO IV: Manoel Ferrer			
1) Estribillo		<i>Pues en rumbos gustosos la nave</i>	Arrival of Vicente to Lisbon's shores;



2) Coplas		<i>Lisboa invencible</i>	protection of Portugal and João V in Asia and Persia by Vicente
3) Recitative		<i>Si al fuego de tus Belicos furores</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Pues de Vicente</i>	
VILLANCICO V: D. Juan Galvan			
1) Estribillo		<i>Pues el diaphano, puro elemento</i>	Vicente as sacred fire (Mt. Etna); Lustanian love and cult for Vicente
2) Coplas		<i>Es Vicente el Sacro incendio</i>	
3) Recitative		<i>Pues mudando los mares sus furores</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Sigue el feliz</i>	
5) Recitative		<i>Ya del dorado Tajo las Orillas</i>	
6) Aria		<i>Solo en Lisboa</i>	
VILLANCICO VI: Fr. Manuel dos Santos			
1) Introduction		<i>El Cielo, y la tierra</i>	Heaven and Earthly Praise; focus on earth's voices raised in praise to heaven's silence
2) First Coplas		<i>Al admirar en Vicente</i>	
3) Estribillo		<i>Resuenen los clarines</i>	
4) Second Coplas		<i>Solo de la tierra</i>	
5) Recitative		<i>Porque en llegando al Cielo</i>	
6) Aria		<i>Pues que la tierra</i>	
NOCTURNO III			
VILLANCICO VII: D. Antonio Literes			
1) Estribillo	Solo 1–4 with Choir	<i>Dilatense tus aplausos</i>	"Al templo" (to the temple); focuses on Vicente devotion at "Oriente" (Cathedral)
2) Coplas		<i>Oy Vicente Martyr Santo</i>	
3) Recitative		<i>Pero sesen las voces</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Sin igual se ven radiantes</i>	
VILLANCICO VIII: Francisco da Costa e Silva			
1) Introduction		<i>De sacros fulgores</i>	Vicente's body transported by Alfonso Henriques to Lisbon by the Tagus River; Elysium; Musical celebration
2) Coplas		<i>La virtud Religiosa</i>	
3) Recitative		<i>Assi dizia el celestial acento</i>	
4) Aria		<i>Como los pechos le prestan su ardor</i>	
5) Estribillo		<i>Ya desembarca</i>	

**Table 1.7: 1720 oratorio for S. Vicente, structural outline. Anonymous Text. Music by Antonio Literes.**

Part	Vocal Setting/ Character	First Line	Subject
1) [Introduction]	a 8	<i>Del Golfo Elisitano costeando la ribera</i>	Vicente's passage by boat and sea to Lisbon's shores
2) Recitative	Amor	<i>Navegue en feliz ora</i>	
3) Aria	[Amor]	<i>Si el tyrano</i>	
4) Tonada	[Amor]	<i>Y pues desembocando</i>	
5) Estribillo	Amor/ Embidia [Envidia]	<i>Liquidas ondas, fertiles playas</i>	Embidia interjects, offended by praise for S. Vicente
6) Recitative	Amor/ Embidia	<i>Donde, Embidia Infernal, la planta mueves?</i>	
7) Aria	[Embidia]	<i>Sopla, gime, arruina, y brama</i>	
8) [Recitative? Arioso?]	Amor	<i>Ya, al diabolico horror de tus acentos</i>	Conflict with Embidia; Lusitania/Amor defend S. Vicente against Embida (torment, rage, fury)
9) a 8	a 8	<i>Marinero, hazte al golfo</i>	
10) [Recitative?]	Lusitania / Amor	<i>Que impensada tormenta</i>	
11) Aria	Lusitania	<i>Pues q[ue] esperas?</i>	
12) Endechas	Amor	<i>A que quieres, que aguarde</i>	
13) Duo	Lusitania/ Amor	<i>El colerico furor</i>	
14) Recitative	Embidia	<i>Ò pese a mi fatiga</i>	
15) Seguidillas	Amor/Lusitania/ Embidia	<i>Mira yà como alegre</i>	Arrival of Vicente's body to Lisbon; disembarks ship; D. Afonso and Lisbon's
16) Recitative	Lusitania/Amor	<i>Yà pues q[ue] tan noble pre[n]da</i>	

17) Aria a 3	Lusitania/Amor/ Embidia	<i>Clarines, à gorgear</i>	Patron celebrated; Embidia admits strength of S. Vicente's Cult
18) Recitative	Lusitania	<i>Y yà que el orden supuesto</i>	
19) Aria	Lusitania	<i>Alegrate, alegrate, ò noble Ciudad</i>	
20) [Recitative? Arioso?]	Amor/Embidia/ a 4	<i>Yà aviendote escuchado</i>	
21) Recitative	Culto	<i>Pues foy, glorioso Imperio</i>	Affirmation of devotion; Embidia is struck with fear
22) Aria	[Culto]	<i>Dile que ya venera</i>	
23) Recitative	All characters	<i>Yo el jubilo agradezo, con q[ue] quieres</i>	
24) Estribillo <sup>60</sup>	Culto/Amor/ Lusitania; Choir	<i>Afectos, al trabajo</i>	
25) Seguidillas	All	<i>Ô que presto, desdichas</i>	Embidia is cast out; general celebration
26) Recitative	All	<i>Pues ya nõ ay esperança</i>	
27) Aria "with trumpets [trompetas]"	Culto/Amor/ Lusitania; a 8 "with all the instruments"	<i>Del cuervo al obsequio</i>	

The specific mention of the Sé Cathedral in Villancico III is particularly striking in that it suggests both the exclusive domain of Lisbon's cult in that institution, as well as the value of the Sé's yearly feast celebration in maintaining his cult. In the excerpts below both "Bazilica" and "Oriente" refer to the Sé.

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<sup>60</sup> A note directly preceding this section describes the voicing: "3. Con repeticion de 3. coros, ó uno a 8. vozes" (Three solo voices with repetition of three choruses, one consisting of eight voices).

### Villancico III

*Recitado.*

*Y tu insigne Basilica famoza  
En quien el Cielo guarda reverente  
Las Sagradas Reliquias de Vicente,  
No pretendas mas gloria,  
Que ser tu Templo archivo à su memoria.*

And you, distinguished, famous Basilica,  
In which Heaven reverently guards  
The Holy Relics of Vicente,  
Do not expect more glory  
Than to be the Temple that holds Vicente's  
memory.

### Villancico VII

*Recitado.*

*Pero sesen las voces, que Vicente  
En el tributo, que le dà este Oriente  
De sacra annual memoria  
Las glorias multiplica de su gloria  
Pues con luzes mas bellas  
Le sirven de este templo las estrellas.*

But stop the voices that this East [Sé]  
Gives to Vicente in tribute.  
From the sacred annual memorial  
His glory multiplies the glories.  
For the most beautiful lights  
The stars serve him from this temple.

The villancicos also further link S. Vicente to Lisbon's political momentum in the early eighteenth century—the various triumphs in Asia and Persia that led to Portugal's close relationship and continued favors in Rome, as procured by João V:

### Villancico IV

*Recitado.*

*Si al fuego de tus Belicos furores  
Dexò al Asia, y la Persia sus errores,  
Ya por premiar tu zelo  
Te dà un Cielo en Vicente, todo el Cielo:*

If to the fire of your warlike rage  
He left Asia, and to Persia its errors,  
Now to reward your zeal  
You are given a Heaven in Vicente, all of  
Heaven:

*Y la Piedad, que al Quinto Juan aclama,  
En la llama enzendida de tal llama,  
Rigiendo Lusitanos esquadrones  
Rayo le teman, Perfidas legiones.*

And the Piety, that João V acclaims,  
In the flame lit from such a flame,  
Ruling Lusitanian squadrons  
Fear his ray, treacherous legions.

*Aria.*

*Pues de Vicente  
La Proteccion  
Ciñe tu frente,  
Siglos augmenta  
Su adoracion.*

Thus, the protection  
Of Vicente  
Surrounds your head,  
Centuries augment  
His adoration.

In the ensuing oratorio text, the relationship of Lisbon to the cult of S. Vicente is further emphasized: Amor, Culto, and Lusitania defend S. Vicente as Lisbon's patron against the best efforts of Embidia Infernal. The themes presented in the villancicos focalize, however, onto the integral relationship between the monarchy, nobility, and popular devotion in the continuation of the cult. In a bold statement, the text of the aria, "Alegrate, alegrate," and ensuing recitative centralizes this amicable relationship on D. Afonso Henriques, who, in delivering S. Vicente's relics, united the nobility and the people in the cult. As would have been quite obvious to contemporary audiences, however—especially given the references to João V in the villancicos—the statements could map easily onto the current king and his control over contemporary Lisbon, where such relationships were rather more strained.

*Aria.*

*Lusitania.*

*Alegrate, alegrate, o noble Ciudad:  
Alegrate, alegrate, ò Pueblo  
pues ya te cõduze mi afecto leal  
en un barco solo, Patron, y Adalid.  
Alegrate, &c.*

Rejoice, rejoice, oh noble City:  
Rejoice, rejoice, oh People  
Thus, my loyal affection leads you,  
Patron and Leader, on a single ship.

*Amor.*

***Yà aviendote escuchado  
en nombre del Monarcha celebrado  
responde el culto.***

**Now having heard  
On behalf of the celebrated Monarch  
The cult responds.**

*Embidia.*

*Y a su impulso abierta  
la bronzada defensa de su puerta,  
entre Nobleza, y pueblo, es ju[n]tame[n]te  
aun mas el alborozo, que la gente.  
O' pese a mi furor! pues mãda el Cielo  
q[ue] oyga dezir mi colera a su zelo:*

And to his impulse opens  
The bronzed defense of his door,  
**Among Nobility, and people,** is together  
even more joy.  
Oh, in spite of my anger! Heaven commands  
it  
Let them hear my anger in his zeal.

While my reading proposes that passages such as those cited above center on the complicated politics of post-1716 Lisbon, it is important to consider that such a reading could be upended completely. Such passages could alternately be read as not a reaction against but rather an affirmation of the court's new religious politics and divisions. In this sense, S. Vicente's glory would, in fact, be doubled by the division of the city, and the works and musicians involved would further double that praise. Given the cultural circumstances in which the pieces were written—composed for the increasingly insignificant cultural institution of the Sé Cathedral, by composers and poets, many of whom were previously active at court and were primarily associated with the production of Iberian musical styles, but now were being actively replaced at court by new composers such as Domenico Scarlatti—tip the scales in favor of a reactionary reading. Moreover, being written in such a way that allows both readings suggests perhaps the subversive nature of the message contained therein—a pointed commentary of court reforms and their effects across Lisbon's musical life meant to destabilize the power of those changes through increased self-presentation, musical spectacle, and the poignant image of S. Vicente.

Whatever their essential function, oratorio imprints in the style produced from 1719 cease to appear—along with the villancicos—from 1723. If, in fact, the works had served to uphold the new realities of Lisbon's court politics, the message was apparently lost or at the very least consumed by the king's desire to eradicate Iberian genres from Lisbon's religious practice. Nonetheless, prior to their elimination, the Iberian-style oratorios enjoyed a few more years of performance alongside villancicos in Lisbon.

Following the original works in 1719 and 1720, for unknown reasons, the 1719 oratorio was repeated at the Sé in 1721, 1722, and 1723. It is possible that the existing sources for these performances were just reprints of the texts (i.e., printed for distribution through Te y Sagau's Imprenta de Música, without actual performances), but in at least 1721 and 1723 the accompanying villancico texts for these years—each of which contained eight new villancicos—included a note indicating the performance of an oratorio the following day.<sup>61</sup> In 1722, however, no such note is included in the new villancico texts. In these last three years, general thematic areas link the villancicos to the oratorios, but in no case do the works approach the integral and pointed efforts of the 1719 and 1720 villancicos and oratorios. The reduced efforts perhaps suggest that even by 1721 the project initiated by Te y Sagau wasn't achieving its goals—whatever those goals were.

The appearance in 1722 of an oratorio by Te y Sagau and Maciel, however, suggests that the oratorios produced in this period might have developed into a broader tradition of musical performance under different circumstances. Written for the feast of S. Gonçalo at the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Esperança in Lisbon, Te y Sagau and Maciel produced a separate oratorio in 1722—the only oratorio known to have been performed in Portugal outside the Sé in this period—and the work abandons many of the concerns of the S. Vicente oratorios examined above. Foremost, the oratorio took place

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<sup>61</sup> These notes are similar to that mentioned in the introduction to this chapter ("Será continuacion..."). The notes are also placed at various places in the texts (sometimes at the beginning, sometimes after the final villancico), suggesting that they were purposefully included.

during the convent's "siesta" (period of rest) on the day of S. Gonçalo (January 10).<sup>62</sup>

Though the villancicos and oratorio were composed by the same circle of composers named above (see Table 1.2), they featured the poetic texts of José de Egito—a religious figure who had ties to several churches and convents in Lisbon and across Portugal. In his texts, there is no mention of the division of Lisbon, the precedence of the court's focus on Rome, or the wide-ranging historical influence of S. Gonçalo in Lisbon's popular devotion.<sup>63</sup> The villancicos, rather, remain focused on the praise of S. Gonçalo de Amarante,<sup>64</sup> though the oratorio is a completely abstract poetic work, which makes no mention of S. Gonçalo in its text. Dedicated to the feast of S. Gonçalo, the work instead carries a secondary title "Oratorio al Santissimo Sacramento" (Oratorio for the Holy Sacrament), and for this reason it utilizes more abstract religious themes revolving around the Sacrament, such as the body and blood of Christ and the Bread of Life. Musically, the printed texts indicate the use of four solo voices, as well as obligato parts for violins and oboes. While the oratorio unfolds over a single part in approximately thirty-eight separate sections—alternating variously recitative, aria, and coplas—the text

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<sup>62</sup> The note at the end of the villancico text reads: "Proseguiran estos cultos todo el dia de mañana, en cuya Siesta se cantara un Oratorio con varios Instrumentos" (These devotions will continue all day tomorrow, during the Siesta of which will be sung an Oratorio with various Instruments). P-Ln, Res. 199<sup>22</sup> P.

<sup>63</sup> Barbosa Machado, in the villancico collection of BR-Rn, noted that José de Egito was a native of Lisbon, professed Secular Franciscan (Order de S. Francisco) and president of the Order's convent in Lisbon, as well as guardian of the Convent of Espírito Santo in Gouveia and commissary of the Third Order in the Convent of S. Francisco da Ponte in Coimbra. Machado adds that Egito died in 1722, making this oratorio, perhaps, one of his final works. Machado's bibliographic notes are transcribed in Horch, *Vilancicos da Coleção Barbosa Machado*, 136.

<sup>64</sup> S. Gonçalo of Amarante was a thirteenth-century Portuguese priest, and later a Dominican friar, who was canonized in the sixteenth century.



also betrays a number of changes: in place of the opening sonata, the printed texts indicate that a fugue (*fuga*) of "all the instruments" was to be performed, and about a third of the way through the work a printed note states that a "ritornello of all the instruments" was to follow the preceding aria.<sup>65</sup> While fugues had been present in villancicos since earlier in the century, the introduction of the ritornello seems to draw the work closer to Italian operatic models than its Sé counterparts. It is difficult—if not impossible—to know the exact nature of this oratorio's meaning, but at the very least, the surviving printed texts demonstrates the expansion of the oratorio tradition established by Te y Sagau and Maciel to other performance venues. Moreover, by contrast, the text emphasizes the specific nature of the oratorios for S. Vicente, which maintained a clear focus on the capital city's changing role in the cult of that saint, against more general treatments for the feast of S. Gonçalo.

Though the Iberian-style oratorio established in this period by Te y Sagau and Maciel would ultimately fail as a new musical platform in Lisbon, the existing printed texts speak to a unique moment in oratorio history, not only in Portugal, but across the Iberian Peninsula. Nonetheless, the extinction of such earlier Iberian-style oratorios in Portugal did not seem to completely preclude their propagation elsewhere. Incipits of the 1719 oratorio emerge—somewhat ironically given the king's distaste for and elimination of such compositions—throughout an *oratorio poetico* by Joseph Magallanes in the

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<sup>65</sup> "Dase principio con una fuga de todos los Instrumentos, y al fin de ella comiençan las voces el siguiente Recitativo, asta el quinto verso que cessan los Instrumentos"; "Despues desta Aria, sigue un Ritornello de todos los Instrumentos." BR-Rn, SLR 15, 3, 6, n.º 12.

Church of Santo Antonio de los Portugese in Seville, Spain, dedicated to the Portuguese king on the occasion of his donation of an altar to that church in 1726:

**1719 oratorio (Lisbon):**

Y Si, porque despierte de su error  
el hombre adormecido  
con el torpe beleño del olvido,  
es util el rumor;  
sean voces sus altas virtudes,  
que inundando la vaga region,  
**mejor que el Violin,  
mejor que el Timbal,  
mejor que el Clarin,  
exciten, y muevan à su imitacion.**

*Yes, because the sleeping man  
Wakes from his error  
With the awkward henbane of oblivion,  
The sound is useful;  
The highest virtues are voices  
That inundate the barren lands  
Better than the Violin,  
Better than the Timpani,  
Better than the Trumpet,  
Exciting, and moving in his imitation.*

**1726 oratorio (Seville):**

...en el necio olvido,  
suene oy el rumor:  
Tus altas virtudes  
repitan su voz,  
que el ambito innunden  
de vaga region,  
**mejor que el Violin,  
mejor que el Violon,  
mejor que el Clarin,  
exciten, y muevan à tu imitacion.**

*...in foolish oblivion,  
Today, the sound rings out  
Your highest virtues  
Repeat the voices  
That the atmosphere inundates  
In the barren lands  
Better than the Violin,  
Better than the Cello,  
Better than the Trumpet,  
Exciting, and moving in your imitation.<sup>66</sup>*

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<sup>66</sup> P-Ln, Res. 199<sup>24</sup> P. The work took place just two days after the king's nameday (Dia de S. João, June 24) and includes texts for not only the oratorio (a work similar to those by Te y Sagau and Maciel above in terms of structure and content), but also five "Letras" (akin to villancicos) to be sung in the morning. Future study is necessary to investigate the appearance of such incipits elsewhere, as well as the apparent conjunction of villancicos and oratorios in religious practice in Spain in this peculiar instance.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**"Che i raggi spanderà dal Tago à Roma": The Politics of Portuguese Oratorio in Rome (1722–1726)**

In late 1721, the Accademia degli Arcadi received a letter of gratitude from João V. In the letter the Portuguese king thanked the Arcadians for his recent acclamation to the society on November 25 of that year when the Academy had named him Arcadian Pastor *Arete Melleo*. The name was an important one—given to Pope Clement XI and left unclaimed at his death, as Susan M. Dixon has noted, the particular naming of João V was "a gesture of unequivocal significance."<sup>1</sup> Over the coming year, the society developed their relationship with the Portuguese king, who soon thereafter donated the funds to build the Arcadian's permanent meeting place—the *Bosco Parrasio* on the Janiculum Hill in Rome. Talks of this donation perhaps surfaced in a meeting soon after the king's acclamation, during which the Arcadians read the letter of gratitude from the Portuguese king that also proffered his protection of the society. At that same meeting, on February 29, 1722, Portuguese ambassador to Rome, André de Melo e Castro, offered to relay a subsequent letter of thanks from the Arcadians to Lisbon, after which the meeting notes turn immediately to the society's lack of a permanent meeting place.<sup>2</sup>

Appearing in conspicuous proximity to the reading of the king's letter at the Arcadian meeting, on February 24, 1722—just five days earlier—a libretto for a *componimento sagro* by Arcadian librettist, canon, and lawyer Andrea Trabucco with

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<sup>1</sup> Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal*, 84

<sup>2</sup> Dixon provides an extensive discussion of the known details of the donation, process of design, construction, and inauguration of the Bosco Parrasio, as well as the nature of the Portuguese involvement in the Arcadia, and especially this project, in her Chapter 4, "Creating the Gianicolo Bosco Parrasio," 83–104.

music by Portuguese composer Francisco António de Almeida ("Francisco Antonio di Almeida Portuguese") received official Arcadian approval.<sup>3</sup> Alongside the signatures of the various *sottocustode* and several deputies of the Arcadia's Collegium, the signature *Alfesibeo Cario*—Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, the Arcadian custodian since the society's founding in 1690 and its most influential member—marked a rare official endorsement, as shown in Figure 2.1. The act enabled the librettist to print the work under his Arcadian pseudonym *Albiro Mirtunziano PA* (Pastore Arcadia), along with the seal of the Arcadia. Moreover, Crescimbeni's official seal of approval on the libretto of a work set to music by a young Portuguese composer no doubt meant to continue to massage the egos and increase the support of a wealthy Portuguese constituent in the Arcadian Society of Rome. Whether it was the libretto or the letter that was more aptly

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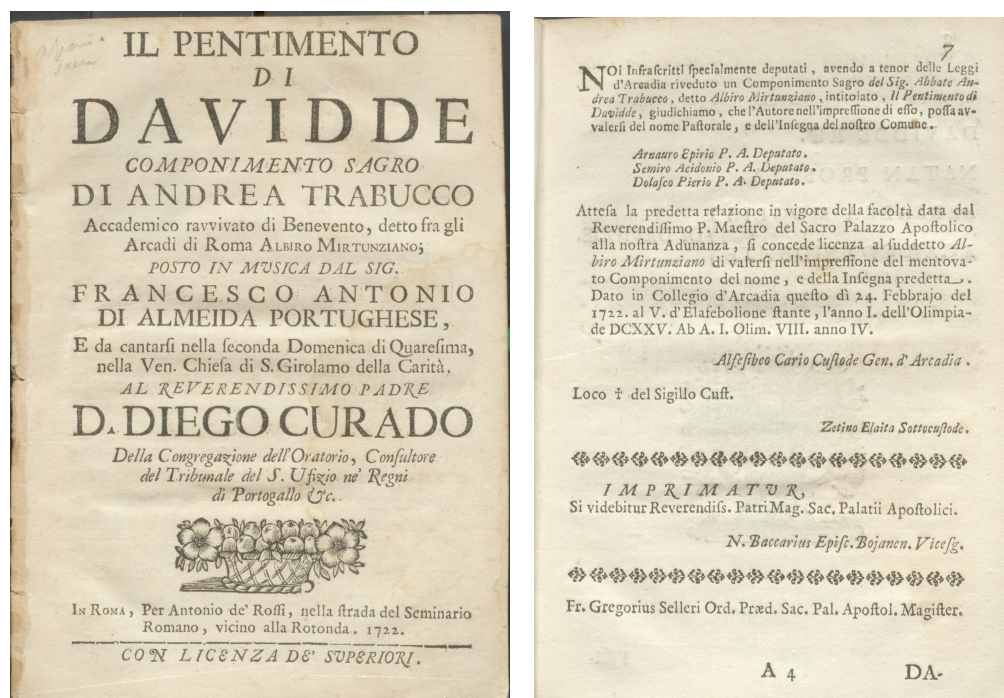
<sup>3</sup> The printed libretto of this work is preserved today in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto (CDN-Ttfl) and the Biblioteca of the Conservatorio Santa Cecilia in Rome (I-Rsc). The music is apparently lost.

Trabucco does not figure significantly in studies of the Arcadian Society and their literary reforms, but, as far as is known, he was a religious and political figure in the Arcadia who also wrote a number of opera libretti from the 1720s to the 1760s. For basic information, see Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Il mondo novo musicale di Pier Leone Ghezzi. Arte armonica, Serie IV* (Rome: Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2001).

Biographical details of Almeida's life are generally drawn from the works of several early Portuguese historians; details on available biographical sources can be found in João Paulo Janeiro's "Contributo para o estudo da música religiosa de Francisco António de Almeida: transcrição e análise de seis obras litúrgicas para solistas, coro e orquestra" (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004), ix-xiii; see also Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Um retrato inédito do compositor Francisco António de Almeida," in *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1989), 123–126. Almeida studied in Rome as a music scholar under the patronage of João V, as did António Teixeira from 1716 to 1728 and João Rodrigues Esteves from 1719 to 1726, though these composers have received even less attention than Almeida. Details about these three composers and their work in Rome can be found in Alvarenga, "'To Make of Lisbon,'" 180–181.

timed is perhaps irrelevant—the budding relationship between Portugal and the Arcadia quickly bloomed into one of the most meaningful in the history of the Academy.<sup>4</sup>

**Figure 2.1: Printed libretto, *Il pentimento di Davidde* (1722). The figure displays the title page (page one) side-by-side with the Arcadian endorsement (page seven). CDN-Ttfl, itp pam 0012.**



Performed shortly thereafter, on March 1, 1722 (the second Sunday of Lent) at

Rome's San Girolamo della Carità, the printed libretto carefully displayed the

<sup>4</sup> The relationship of the Portuguese to the Arcadian society in Rome warrants further examination. As noted above, Dixon provides a useful summary and analysis of the Portuguese diplomatic missions that developed in Rome and the use of the Arcadia as a platform for Portuguese politicking. Dixon also discusses the various high-ranking Portuguese officials that were accepted into the Accademia in the period of 1712–1727, especially around the period of the king's donation. The most important of these acclamations included the Portuguese cardinals José Pereira de Lacerda and Nuno da Cunha de Ataíde (both 1721); the retired ambassador and Marques de Fontes, Rodrigo de Annes de Sá e Meneses (1722); and the current ambassador extraordinary and Conde de Galveias, André de Melo e Castro (1723). Other discussions of the Portuguese relationship to Arcadian circles in Rome have been the work of, primarily, art historians such as Angela Delaforce. See her monograph *Art and Patronage*; and her chapter "Lisbon, 'This New Rome.'"

production's endorsements and dedications, including a full page of the various permissions by Crescimbeni and the Arcadian Society. The dedication that precedes the libretto, however, dedicated the work to Diogo (Diego) Curado, a well-known Portuguese Father of the Congregation of the Oratorio and Examiner of the Tribunale del Sant'Uffizio.<sup>5</sup> The dedication praised Curado as representing the "perfect idea of a Religious Ecclesiastic"—an idea played out in the ensuing libretto in the figure of the Prophet Nathan, who intervenes in the adulterous marriage of David and Bathsheba to deliver the prophecy of their firstborn's death. Much like the apparent Roman-Portuguese alliance suggested by the collaboration of Trabucco and Almeida, the libretto's dedicatory elements carefully pointed to a growing partnership between Portuguese religious and Roman cultural institutions.

The importance of this musical work in the history of Portuguese oratorio is two-fold. First, it represents the earliest documented Italian-style sacred dramatic work by a Portuguese composer in the eighteenth century (which, nonetheless, curiously overlaps with the production of Spanish-style oratorios in Lisbon). Second, it speaks to the vibrant exchanges that occurred in this period between the Portuguese kingdom and various

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<sup>5</sup> Scholars have surmised, in part from this dedication, that Almeida may have traveled to Rome in association with the Congregation of the Oratorio. Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro makes this unsupported inference in his "El-Rei D. João, o Quinto, e a música no seu tempo," in *D. João V—conferências e estudos comemorativos do segundo centenário da sua morte (1750–1950)* (Lisbon: Publicações Culturais da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1952), 65–89. Diogo Curado is not particularly well studied in the historical literature, but he seems to have been an active Portuguese figure in Rome's religious life as a father of the Congregation of the Oratorio and published a series of sermons in Rome in 1719: Diogo Curado, *Sermoens do P. Diogo Curado Da Congregaçaõ [sic] do Oratorio de Lisboa. Offerecidos ao Espirito Santo*, 3 vols. (Rome: Officina de Antonio Rossis, 1719).

cultural, religious, and political institutions in Rome, especially the Arcadian Society and the Papal Court—institutions which themselves were deeply intertwined (and advantageously so for diplomatically-minded kings like João V). In addition to the Portuguese support already offered to the Papacy as discussed in the Introduction to Part One of this dissertation, João V seems to have realized the potential of the Arcadia as an in-road to further papal politicking.

Pietropaolo and Parker have located this libretto in these exchanges, especially for the rare inclusion of Crescimbeni's personal approval in the libretto.<sup>6</sup> Yet they regard the work as little more than a singular contribution to a larger mission on the part of the Arcadians to secure the funds for a permanent meeting place. They note, for instance, that since the work was followed quickly by João V's handsome donation for the purchase and construction of the garden theater of the Bosco Parrasio: "The oratorio no doubt fulfilled its spiritual mission, but it had also lent its services to a major fundraising campaign."<sup>7</sup> While this is likely true, it perhaps oversimplifies the nature of the services rendered via the musical work, as well as the ramifications of the developing cultural relationship displayed in the work in broader terms. In what other ways does the printed libretto reflect upon the nature of the relationship of the Portuguese monarchy and Rome in this period? Given that Almeida remained in Rome at least four more years and wrote another oratorio, *La Giuditta*, in 1726, was *Il pentimento di Davide* a singular act or can

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<sup>6</sup> Domenico Pietropaolo and Mary Ann Parker, *The Baroque Libretto: Italian Operas and Oratorios in the Thomas Fisher Library at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 33–34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

it be understood as part of an ongoing project in which Almeida and his musical contributions continued to be involved?<sup>8</sup>

When viewed with a wider lens, Almeida's two Roman sacred dramatic compositions are curious in several regards. Chronologically, the works serve as bookends that mark the composer's central period in Rome, aligning almost precisely with the official beginning and end of construction of the Bosco Parrasio. As noted above, *Il pentimento di Davide* marked the Portuguese king's acclamation to the Arcadian society and the beginning of the short period leading up to his donation; *La Giuditta*, performed in 1726 (the libretto does not name a specific date, though it likely also took place during Lent) probably prefaced, by just a few months, the long-awaited

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<sup>8</sup> Almeida's known compositional output includes, in addition to the two oratorios, a small number of surviving (in whole or in part) sacred and secular vocal works.

As noted above, Almeida's *Il pentimento di Davide* survives only in the form of Trabucco's libretto, but his *La Giuditta* survives intact in a Roman copy of the score (D-B, Mus.Ms. 560) and an anonymous printed libretto (D-Mbs, L.eleg.g. 3837). These two oratorios are the only known works from Almeida's Roman period. Almeida's *La Giuditta* has received only minimal attention in musicological studies. See, for example, the work's treatment in David Marsh, "Judith in Baroque Oratorio," in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Lähnemann, 393–395 (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2010); and George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 389–390. To my knowledge, no in-depth study of the oratorio has been completed to date. A modern edition of the work has been produced, but it remains commercially unavailable: Francisco António de Almeida, *La Giuditta*, ed. Jaime Mota, Fernando Bessa Valente, and Jorge Alexandre Costa (Oporto: Fermata, 2000). The work has received several modern performances and one recording: Francisco António de Almeida, *La Giuditta: Oratorio*, dir. René Jacobs (Harmonia Mundi, 1992), HMC 901411 and HMC 901412.

Janeiro's "Contributo para o Estudo da Música Religiosa" is undoubtedly the most comprehensive introduction to Almeida's sacred work and is one of the few studies to apply thorough musical analysis to any portion of the composer's output. Almeida's opera *La Spinalba* was published as part of the *Portugaliae música* series; see Almeida, *La Spinalba*. *Portugaliae música*, Série B (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976).



inauguration of the new Bosco Parrasio on September 9 of that same year. Moreover, the two works made their debuts in the two institutions most reputed for oratorio performance in Rome—San Girolamo della Carità and the Chiesa Nuova of Santa Maria in Vallicella, respectively—even while more secular palace performances of oratorio grew in frequency and importance in that period.<sup>9</sup>

More precisely, however, the contents and contexts of Almeida's oratorios speak to several more pointed contributions. First, Almeida's oratorios appear to align with the development the genre of oratorio as an ideal musico-dramatic form in Arcadian and papal politics. Stefanie Tcharos has recently explored this idea in relation to Scarlatti's oratorios on the subject of Judith, and I examine these relationships in terms of Almeida's setting below. Second, Almeida's oratorios contribute to the understanding of Portuguese engagement in Italian oratorio forms, especially concerning the study of common biblical dramatic characters as the focus of such productions (in particular, the many Baroque settings of Judith from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as those by Scarlatti and Vivaldi). Third, Almeida's oratorios suggest an aggregate filtering of these various musico-dramatic concerns through the lens of Portuguese monarchical religious and political ambitions. Viewed together, these three elements reveal Almeida's oratorios as powerful expressions of the contemporary Portuguese-Roman environment

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<sup>9</sup> Arnaldo Morelli has explored both the sacred and secular contexts of oratorio in this period. On the sacred roots of the oratorio and context of the Oratorian's devotional practices, see his *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, *Analecta Musicologica* 27 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1991) and his "'Il muovere e non il far maravigliare.' Relationships between Artistic and Musical Patronage in the Roman Oratory," *Italian History and Culture* 5 (1999), 13–28. On the increasing performance of oratorio in the context of noble palaces, see his "'Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma.'"

in which he worked, through which the oratorio functioned not only as an appropriate platform for musical moralizing but also as a vivid site for aligning cultural memory with allegorical imagination in forwarding a growing myth of Portugal as a reflection and emulator of Rome.

*A Portuguese Composer in Arcadia: Il pentimento di Davidde (1722)*

However Almeida came into contact with Andrea Trabucco and the circles of the Arcadian Society—likely through the many Portuguese diplomats and ambassadors already serving as members—he must have done so rather quickly. Though it is not known exactly when Almeida arrived in Rome, Trabucco's explanatory note to the reader of *Il pentimento di Davidde* points to the Portuguese composer's youthful assimilation into Roman culture:

*A Chi legge.*

*Il Pentimento del Regal Profeta Davidde colle circostanze, che gli precedettero, e lo seguirono, giudico esser così noto a ciascuno, che non è uopo, nè tampoco far parola di ciocchè leggesi intorno a quello registrato nel lib. 2. de' Re a' Capi II. e 12. non è però che sconvenevol cosa Io stimi l'avvisarti solamente, Cortese Leggitore, che da me si principia il Fatto del presente Componimento nel tempo, in cui a Davidde, che già Bersabea dichiarata avea sua Sposa, fu fatta per comandamento di Dio la misteriosa riprensione dal Profeta Natan, alla quale il Pentimento di Davidde immediatamente seguì, e la prenunziata morte del di lui Figliuolo, concepito in Adulterio: In qual tempo ancora teneasi da Gioabba General dell'Esercito Ebreo, assediata Rabbath Città degli Ammoniti, la quale non molto andò, che vinta, e presa col suo Re fu da Davidde. Tanto potrà bastarti per renderti chiare, e l' idea del componimento, e le parole, che in verso obbligato saran nella Seconda Parte da natan proferite; e per giudicar finalmente come lecite le oneste amorevoli, quantunque poche espressioni, che poste per compiacere alla Musica, sul principio Tu leggerai; per tal riguardo ancora ben dei condonare qualche bassezza di Rima, e di parola, che in simiglianti componimenti, può difficilmente evitarsi;*

*e in questo sì divoto spiritual trattenimento, non lasciar di ammirare il virtuoso talento del Giovine Compositor della Musica, tanto più degno della tua ammirazione, quant'è più breve il Tempo, che Egli sì dolce professione apprende; e quanto rendesi in Lui più difficile per la diversità del proprio, e l'intelligenza del nostro Idioma. Vivi felice.*

The repentance of the Royal Prophet David, together with the circumstances that preceded and followed it, I judge to be so well known to everyone that it is neither appropriate nor necessary to read the words of the passages within that account in [II Samuel] Chapters 11 and 12. I reckon, however, that it is not inconvenient, Courtly Reader, that I should simply advise you that the present Componimento is concerned principally with that time in which David, who had already declared Bathseba his Bride, was given the mysterious rebuke by the Prophet Nathan by the commandment of God, immediately after which the repentance of David followed the prophecy of the death of his Son conceived in Adultery. In that time, furthermore, Joab, General of the Hebrew Army, besieged Rabbath, City of the Ammonites, which, being unmoved, was won and conquered by King David. This will be enough to make clear the idea of the composition, and the words uttered by Nathan in "verso obbligato" in the Second Part; furthermore, one will be able to judge, finally, how legitimate is the honest care, though of modest expression, that is put to satisfy the principle of the text by the Music; such care will further allow any baseness of the Rhyme, and of the text, that in simulating drama, are so difficult to avoid; and in that spiritual moderation, one should not cease to admire the virtuous talent of the Young Composer of the Music, who is all the more deserving of your admiration since so short is the time in which he so easily learns the profession; and how it is rendered by him with such little difficulty by his own diversity and the sense of our Language. Live happily.

Trabucco, it seems, remained a minor figure in the Arcadian literary scene during his lifetime. It is therefore curious that he would offer such support (if not as some favor or maneuver) to a young Portuguese composer who had recently arrived on the scene and still, clearly, was working out his understanding of the language—at a moment when the relationship of the text to music was of utmost importance.

Trabucco's explanatory note speaks to a number of the predominant issues in Arcadian literary reform in this period: a return to simpler structures and texts,

maintenance of poetic rhyme, and less complex metaphors and plot devices.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the note aligns with contemporary ideas about the reform of musical drama, forwarded most prominently by Arcangelo Spagna in his 1706 *Oratorii, overo Melodrammi sacri*, which called for a renegotiation of oratorio as a devotional and musical form given its ongoing assimilation of operatic ideals.<sup>11</sup> Above all, such reform hoped to return to a past in which text reigned supreme over the words; as Stefanie Tcharos writes in her illuminating study of Spagna and his treatise on oratorio in the larger orbit of Roman opera, Spagna "yearn[ed] for a future in when oratorios and *all* music-dramatic composition would hold steadfastly to past principles of *prima le parole*. The aging canon was not alone in such longing; his grief over the loss of the poetic word's primacy resonates with other turn-of-the-century reactionary critics, such as Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni."<sup>12</sup> To accomplish this reform, Spagna's "Discorso intorno a gl'oratorii" in *Oratorii, overo Melodrammi sacri* advocated three central reforms in musical drama, as summarized in Tcharos: 1) the elimination of the narrator (*Testo*); 2) the use of the model of Senecan tragedy (few interlocutors; focus in the drama on a single protagonist, allowing the pathos of that protagonist to serve as an expression of the drama's moralizing tone); and 3) the upholding of skilled rhyme in the poetry. In his dedication, Trabucco seems to defend his work as maintaining these central ideals,

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<sup>10</sup> Dixon summarizes these reforms in the early years and development of the Arcadian Society in *Between the Real and the Ideal*, Chapter 1, "Accademia degli Arcadi."

<sup>11</sup> Arcangelo Spagna, *Oratorii, overo Melodrammi sacri*, ed. Johann Herczog, Musurgiana 25 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, [1706] 1993).

<sup>12</sup> Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit*, 57

emphasizing, for instance, his careful attention to rhyme and the text, both of which were carefully supported (but not overcome) by the music.

It should also be noted that, in arguing the appropriate future of large musical-dramatic works such as opera, reformists such as Spagna sometimes called on the oratorio as a more amenable path forward for opera. Spagna cited oratorio as a musical analogue to dramatic tragedy, where moralizing themes and a greater emphasis on literary quality could be maintained—opera, it seemed, had become too spectacular and far too complex in its literary text (e.g., the use of complicated and overlapping metaphors, multiple plot lines and protagonists, etc.). As part of these reforms, patrons such as Cardinal Ottoboni began to utilize the broad categorical label "oratorio" to create a space for thinly veiled secular entertainment parading as sacred devotion (such as Ottoboni's 1690 production of *Sant'Eustachio*).<sup>13</sup> Almeida's oratorios, however, stick strongly to oratorio's devotional roots—even if oratorio had inevitably adopted many of opera's musical forms and dramatic emphasis, his oratorios occupied the genre's most revered sacred performance contexts (the Congregation of the Oratorio) and promoted texts that fit the ideals of the reform. While it is possible that Almeida produced many more works in Rome than can be documented today, even after at least two years in Rome, the composer seems to have abstained from more secular theatrical compositions. Arcadian artist Pier Leone Ghezzi, well known for his caricatures of Rome's elite and his weekly musical *academia*, which he held at his own residence, described the young

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. Tcharos discusses Cardinal Ottoboni's manipulation of the genre's context and content, through the production of *Sant'Eustachio*, and the broader implications of this manipulation in the cultural reforms of late seventeenth-century Rome in her chapter, "Disrupting the oratorio."

Portuguese composer as follows: "Mr. Francisco [António Almeida], Portuguese, who has come to study in Rome, is presently a talented composer of Concerti, and music for the Church; although young, he is an amazement and sings with unparalleled taste, coming to my Academy of Music."<sup>14</sup>

In aligning his early work in Rome with the Arcadian society and Trabucco, Almeida implicates himself in some of the goals of contemporary literary reform, and while Almeida's music is apparently lost, Trabucco's text can give some indication of the sorts of musico-dramatic oratorio texts receiving Arcadian support at that time. Despite the potential for lascivious intrigue, in *Il pentimento di Davidde* Trabucco reduces the story of David and Bathsheba to one central conflict: Nathan's prophecy—the death of David and Bathsheba's firstborn son, conceived in adultery—as punishment by God for their adulterous transgression. As a whole, the libretto avoids the complex machinations of contemporary opera, training itself upon the prophecy of Nathan in the first part and the repentance of David and Bathsheba in the second part. Nathan's prophecy catalyzes the entire action of the plot, and David and Bathsheba's repentance following the death of their son serves to communicate the moral tone of the work.

This central conflict, moreover, remains strongly situated in Arcadian language, for which the story of David and Bathsheba is particularly well suited. Trabucco's

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<sup>14</sup> "Signor Francesco Portuguese il quale è venuto in Roma per studiare, e presentemente è un bravissimo compositore di Concerti, e di musica da Chiesa, e per essere Giovane è uno stupore e canta con gusto inarrivabile, venendo alla mia Academia di Musica." Original caption transcribed, with further analysis, in Brito, "Um retrato inédito do compositor Francisco António de Almeida," 124. Ghezzi signed the caricature "Io Cavalier Ghezzi me ne sono lassata la memoria il di 9 luglio 1724."

opening lines, for instance, cleverly utilize the simple and transparent metaphor of the ewe and the shepherd to symbolize Bathsheba's love for David:

Bersebea

*Non è sì fida, e bella  
Al suo Pastor l'Agnella,  
Come son' Io per Te;  
Accresce Amor nel petto  
La Fede, ed il rispetto,  
Che deggio a Te, mio Re.*

The ewe is not as faithful, and beautiful  
To the Shepherd,  
As I am to You;  
Love grows in my breast  
Like the Faith, and the respect,  
That I owe to You, my King.

The image of the ewe takes on new significance, however, shortly thereafter, when the prophet Nathan likens David to the rich man who stole the poor man's ewe—thus, David, haven stolen Bathsheba, must similarly receive punishment. Trabucco's text transforms the biblical "man," however, into the more pointed *Pastor* throughout.<sup>15</sup>

Natan

*. . . Un Ricco, ed Empio  
Pastor, che ha nella Greggia  
Ed Agni, e Buoi, e numerosi Armenti,  
Guari non ha, ch'a un Pastorel vicino  
Povero, ed Innocente,  
Rapì l'unica Agnella.*

. . . A Rich, and Wicked  
Shepherd, that has in his flock  
Lambs, and oxen, and many Cattle,  
Stole, not long ago,  
the only Lamb from a  
Poor, and Innocent, neighboring Shepherd.

...

*Davidde ascolta:  
Così parla il Signor: Quegli ch'ha tolta*

Listen, David:  
Thus saith the Lord: The man that hath  
taken

*L'unica Agnella al Povero Pastore,  
Tu sei, Tu, che d'Uria  
Il casto letto violando, teco  
L'unica Sposa sua traesti, e a dura  
Morte acerba esponesti  
Il misero Innocente . . .*

The only Lamb of the Poor Shepherd,  
Who art Thou that stole of Uriah  
In violating the chaste bed with  
His only Bride brings a severe  
And bitter death upon  
The miserable Innocent One . . .

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<sup>15</sup> II Samuel 12:1–31.

The first part ends in anguish as David and Bathsheba await the fulfillment of the prophecy.

While the cleverness of selecting this particular biblical story and its accompanying parable in appealing to the Arcadian society was likely not lost on its readers, the real crux of the drama—which Trabucco points to in his explanatory note—comes in the sweeping moral tones of Nathan's extended *verso obbligato* in the second part. Following their son's prophesied death in the opening of the second part, Bathsheba and David profess their error, and their moment of repentance is followed by Nathan's verses:

Natan

*O degno, o dolce effetto*

*Di vero pentimento;*

*Ed oh qual nel mio petto*

*Dal Grande Dio mi sento,*

*Spirto, e lume inspirar di nuove cose,*

*Che Ei nel futuro ascose!*

*Veggio nascer da Voi*

*Quel Figlio, e Re; per cui*

*Udir, da Regni Eoi*

*Partirà Saba, e in Lui*

*Ammirerà quel gran saper profondo,*

*Che non fu mai nel Mondo:*

*Figlio, a cui Dio concede*

*L'onor d'alzargli il Tempio,*

*Che l'occhio mio già vede*

*Sorger senz'altro esempio;*

*Ed oh qual dopo lui nascerà bella*

*Posterità! da quella*

*L'altro mistico, e vivo*

*Tempio veggo costruito,*

*Per cui l'Uom, che già privo*

*Per l'assaggiato frutto*

*Era del Sommo Ben, fia sollevato*

Oh worthy and sweet effect

Of true repentance;

Oh, in my chest

I feel the Greatness of God,

Spirit, and light to inspire new ways,

Which were hid of the future!

I see born from you

That Son, and King, to whom

Udir, from the Eastern realm

Saba will depart, and in Him

Will be admired the most profound  
wisdom,

Such as has ever been in the World:

A son, in whom God grants

The honor to raise the Temple,

My eyes already see

Arising such an example;

And, oh, what beautiful posterity  
will

Come after him! From which

Another mystic, and a living

Temple I see constructed,

For the Man whom, already deprived

Of the tempting fruit

Was the Supreme Good, and



<p><i>A goderlo Beato.</i>  <i>Più veggo; ma sol tanto</i>  <i>Dirvi poss'io; Gioite,</i>  <i>Gioite dunque, e 'l pianto,</i>  <i>Or che asciugando gite,</i>  <i>In testimonio della sua promessa</i>  <i>Iddio vuole, che oppressa</i>  <i>Resti Rabbat dall'armi</i></p> <p><i>Di Gioabbo tuo Duce,</i>  <i>E già su 'l tuo Crin parmi</i>  <i>Veder la nuova luce,</i>  <i>Dell'acquistato Regno, ed al tuo piede</i></p> <p><i>Veggio il barbaro Re cheider mercede.</i></p>	<p>Was raised to a Saint.          I see even more; but only so much can          I tell you; Rejoice,          Rejoice, therefore, and wipe dry          The tears of sorrow,          In testimony to his promise          God wills Rabbat,          Which remains oppressed by the                  army          Of Joab, your leader,          Already on the Horizon I sense          the new light appearing,          Of the bethrothed Kingdom, and at                  your feet,          I see the barbarian King offer mercy.</p>
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The act of repentance thus transforms the tragedy of the work into new joy: the prophecy of Bathsheba's birth of Solomon and the building of his Temple, as well as the impending triumph of David over Joab, "il barbaro Re" (the barbarian King).

The undertones of Nathan's speech are more expansive, including an emphasis on the joy of repentance, the reform of one's life to meet the expectations of morality and divine law, and the triumph of the "new light" (*nuova luce*) that comes from those reformations in the process of overcoming evil. Within the drama, these undertones center on the prophet Nathan, who singly acts in the work to make the work of God manifest in the world. Beyond the drama, however, these undertones are suggestive of the work's dedicatee, Diogo Curado:

*Reverendissimo Padre.*

*UN sagra Componimento, qual'è questo, che rappresenta il Pentimento di Davidde, comparando all pubblica Luce, non dovea seben si considera ad altro Nome consagrarsi, ch'a quello sì riguardevole di V. P. REVERENDISSIMA, come di un Personaggio, in cui veramente si riconosce la perfetta idea di un'Ecclesiastico Religioso. Voi, quantunque per le altre nobili doti vantar possiate singolarissimi Caratteri; date però a conoscere, che solamente in alto pregio tenete le comendevoli morali Virtù, che in Voi con tanta*

*uniformità risplendono; o si riguardi quella Prudenza, che vi è indivisibil compagna nelle Vostre operazioni, o il giusto Zelo, che rimostate ne' gravi affari di Religione, o finalmente il profondo Sapere congiunto all'integrità de' Vostri affabili Costumi, che a dovuta ragione degno Oggetto vi rendono e di amore egualmente, e di stima: e tal vi dichiara co' sentimenti di piena acclamazione Portogallo tutto, che venerandovi colla decorosa Carica di Consultor del S. Uffizio ne'suoi Regni, ammira in Voi particolarmente unito ciò, che di Virtuoso, e di Eroico sa in più Altri distinguere . . .*

Reverend Father.

A Sacred Composition, such as this, that presents The Repentance of David, coming to the public Light, should not be dedicated to any other Name, than that taken by Your Most Reverend Father, as a Figure in which is truly realized the perfect idea of a Religious Ecclesiastic. You, even though by other esteemed qualities, possess the most singular character; it is worthy yet to recognize that solely in the high value that you bear moral Virtue within you in such uniform splendor; or the care with which you take Prudence, that indivisible companion in Your operations, or the just Zeal, that is shown over and over again in the grave affairs of Religion, or finally the profound Wisdom together with the integrity of Your affable Morals, that you are deservedly regarded as the worthy Object and equally of love, and of esteem: and as such, all of Portugal declares you with feelings of full acclamation, that as the object of such devotion you were put to the dignified Position of Consultor of the S. Uffizio in your Reign, and is admired in You particularly that unity of the Virtuous and of the Heroic that in few Others can be distinguished . . .

Without making the connection in so many words, Trabucco's dedication to Curado suggests his alignment with the character Nathan—whose role is foregrounded strongly in the libretto—in his devotion to spreading moral virtue through the church.

The Arcadia, in a sense, was an ideal locus for such a moralizing work since the society focused on the broader strains of cultural reform melded together with a deep emphasis on Catholicism. This focus was emphasized both in the selection of the baby Jesus as the society's divine patron and the integration of a large number of ecclesiastics and theologians, and even popes, among the society's ranks. The oratorio (or *componimento sagro*—a term seemingly aimed at emphasizing the literary supremacy of the work against any musical genre designation) might have stood as ideal in that regard.

At once the work would have served the interests of the Arcadian ideals, as well as the primary focus of João V's political and cultural subventions in Rome, all of which seemed to focus on modeling the Portuguese Royal Chapel on that great figure of Christian civilization and linking the Portuguese inextricably to it. Almeida's near immediate entanglement in this web of institutions and figures—specifically through the production of sacred musical drama—speaks to the role that musical contributions by Portuguese composers in Rome might have played in the developing myth of Portuguese cultural renewal and reform, exceptional religious devotion and moral focus, and political prowess. Though David and Bathsheba only allowed general Arcadian musings on these relationships, however, Almeida's Judith would cut into them more directly.

*A Portuguese Judith in Rome: La Giuditta (1726)*

Four years removed from the production of *Il pentimento di Davidde*, Almeida's subsequent oratorio *La Giuditta* betrayed a number of resemblances to the earlier work in its context and presentation. Like Almeida's previous *componimento sagro*, *La Giuditta* was produced in the context of the Congregation of the Oratorio, yet this time at the Chiesa Nuova. The oratory at San Girolamo della Carità was, in effect, a sister venue to the Chiesa Nuova, but the latter retained an air of historical importance and, eventually,

musical star power that San Girolamo would ultimately lack.<sup>16</sup> Like the former work, *La Giuditta* carried a striking dedication to a figurehead of Portuguese politics in Rome—the Portuguese ambassador extraordinary to the Papal Court, André de Melo e Castro, who had also been a member of the Arcadian Society since 1723. This time, however, Almeida himself wrote the dedication to the Portuguese ambassador in the otherwise anonymous libretto; fortunately, a Roman copy of Almeida's music exists, as well (see Figure 2.2).

**Figure 2.2:** Title page of the anonymous printed libretto of Almeida's *La Giuditta* (left). D-Mbs, L.eleg.g. 3837. Title page of the preserved manuscript copy of Almeida's *La Giuditta* (right). D-B, Mus.Ms. 560.



Despite the long standing attention of scholars to Judith's presence in early modern art and musical productions, Almeida's *La Giuditta* remains obscure in

<sup>16</sup> For more on the relationship between these two institutions, see Smither, *Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*, Vol. 1, *The History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); and Johnson, *Roman Oratorio, 1770–1800*.

musicological studies to date.<sup>17</sup> Though this is likely, in part, due to the relative obscurity of Almeida as a composer, Almeida's setting also remains fairly straightforward in its depiction of the heroine, broaching the story through four main characters—Giuditta (Judith), Olofernes (Holofernes), Ozia (Ozias), and Achiorre (Achior). The musical setting—a virtual study in early eighteenth-century Roman oratorio style, featuring a strict alternation of recitative and da capo arias over two structural parts, the complete exclusion of a chorus or narrator, and a three-part instrumental *introduzione*—no doubt confirms Almeida's mastery of the Italian musical styles he was charged with

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<sup>17</sup> The literature is much too extensive to list here in any detail, but a useful introduction to Judith studies across the arts, with a section dedicated to settings of Judith in music and drama, is *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Lähnemann (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2010). Within this volume, David Marsh provides a brief discussion of several eighteenth-century Judith oratorios, including Almeida's *La Giuditta*, in "Judith in Baroque Oratorio," 385–396. Eleanor Selfridge-Field also provides a comparative analysis of various eighteenth-century Judith oratorios in relation to Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* (1716), including Scarlatti's two Judith settings, in her chapter "'Juditha in Historical Perspective,'" in *Vivaldi Veneziano Europeo*, ed. Francesco Degrada (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1980), 135–153. For three important eighteenth-century English settings, see Eva Zöllner, "Murder Most Virtuous: The *Judith* Oratorios of De Fesch, Smith and Arne," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 158–171. Kelley Harness' chapter "Una forte, magnanima, e generosa vedova: Judith" from her *Echoes of Women's Voices* provides a recent study of the Judith story in the context of female patronage at the Medici court, as well as useful early modern Italian bibliography. More recently, Michele Cabrini has reevaluated the figure of Judith in the French cantata settings of Sébastien de Brossard and Élisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (both from 1708) through the literary concept of focalization; see his "The Composer's Eye: Focalizing Judith in the Cantatas by Jacquet de La Guerre and Brossard," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 9, no. 1 (2012), 9–45.

learning in its moving and skillful rendering of Baroque musical language in advancement of the text.<sup>18</sup>

Casting off the marks of his youthful inexperience, the dedication to *La Giuditta* presents the work as that of a fully mature composer. Moreover, the work's opening dedication suggests a more pointed allegorical significance in the oratorio, quietly alluding to the work's symbolic power:

*Prima della mia partenza da Roma per il Regno di Portogallo, essendo stato, fra molti soggetti di maggior vaglia di mè, prescelto a porre in Musica il presente Oratorio della Giuditta, già altre volte Stampato, ma in questa ultima impressione quasi del tutto rinnovato, ed all' ultima perfezione del gusto moderno ridotto, n'intrapresi con ogni genio la lodevol fatica, ed al fine condottala a misura delle mie deboli forze, ne riportai per mia sorte dalla bontà di chi mi diè l'onore di servirlo il di lui particolar gradimento. Ora per incontrarne l'approvazione universale non ho saputo rinvenirne altro più valevole mezzo, che metterlo sotto l'Ombra dell'Altissimo Patrocinio di V.E., audìo portando in fronte il suo Gloriosissimo Nome, mi venga con esso a conciliare quel merito, che dalla nuda mia Opera non potrei mai sperare, non che promettermi. Gradisca pertanto l'E.V., quel'umile attestato del mio riverentissimo ossequio, il quale benchè sembri indirettamente risguardare il mio proprio interesse, direttamente però non risguarda, che la sua Gloria, con palesare al Mondo, che l'E.V. tanto amata, ammirata, e venerata in questa Città, per l'Eccelse Prerogative, che l'accompagnano, sà, come il Sole comunicare i suoi Raggi alli vapori più vili, e renderli luminosi ad'onta delle native lor tenebre.*

Before my departure from Rome for the Kingdom of Portugal, I have, among many other matters of merit to me, made my principal task the setting to music of the present Oratorio of *Giuditta*, which has already often been printed, but in this last printing is almost entirely renewed and adapted to the most modern taste. After having undertaken the worthy task with all the talent I possess, and borne it to its end as far as my powers permitted me, it has brought me, to my great happiness, the joy of having given particular pleasure to him who has [given] me the honor of serving him. Now, in order to achieve universal approval, I can find no better means than to place it under the protection of the most exalted patronage

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<sup>18</sup> For eighteenth-century Roman oratorio style, see Smither, *Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*, Vol. 3, *A History of the Oratorio*; and Johnson, *Roman Oratorio, 1770–1800*.

of Your Excellency, so that by placing your most glorious name upon the title-page, I may obtain the reward for which I could never hope nor promise myself with my bare work alone. May it therefore please Your Excellency to accept this humble token of my most respectful homage, which, although seeming indirectly to serve my own interests, will directly serve those of your glory, revealing to the world that Your Excellency, so loved, [admired,] and venerated in this city, by the exalted prerogatives that you possess, deigns, like the sun, to communicate your rays to the most abject [vapors] and to render them luminous despite their innate darkness.<sup>19</sup>

*La Giuditta*'s dedicatory note betrays several exceptional qualities compared to Almeida's more youthful contribution to Trabucco's work. First, Almeida portrays *La Giuditta* as a sort of final act for the composer's Roman trajectory, and his wording suggests the work's importance in this regard. The work, as his "principal task" appears to have employed the entirety of his skill and knowledge. Second, in so doing, Almeida claims a certain hitherto unachieved success in this regard—by renewing and adapting the story of Judith (a common topic in sacred dramatic settings, as he notes), the oratorio achieves a heightened emphasis on the so-called "most modern taste." Finally, in eschewing the mediation of a Roman librettist, Almeida filters these achievements through a distinctly Portuguese voice—the work, by a Portuguese composer is not only dedicated to the foremost Portuguese figure in Rome at that time, but the dedication suggests the work's revelation and reflection of that ambassador's glory through the story of Judith. In language that betrays the narratives of triumph and conversion that play a major role in the oratorio, the dedication further illuminates Judith's association with the triumph of light over dark (Judith/Olofernes).

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<sup>19</sup> Translation modified from Manuel Carlos de Brito, liner notes to Francisco António de Almeida, *La Giuditta: Oratorio*. René Jacobs. Harmonia Mundi, 1992, HMC 901411 and HMC 901412.

Indeed, the Portuguese ambassador was unlikely to have missed such a subtle reference. Named ambassador extraordinary to Clement XI, Melo e Castro—titled the Conde de Galveias—was a prominent member of Roman society, well versed in the allegorical capacity of spectacle. On one such occasion on November 16, 1721, the Conde de Galveias staged the pastorale *La virtù negl'amori* by Alessandro Scarlatti at the Teatro Capranica with extensive stage sets by Francesco Galli-Bibiena in honor of the new pope Innocent XIII.<sup>20</sup> With music "by four talented musicians . . . and two other musicians, the one representing Night, and the other the Sun,"<sup>21</sup> the performance hosted countless preeminent Roman Cardinals and nobles, not to mention members of the Arcadia, including the composer himself. The highlight of the work was its culmination in a spectacular staging of Aurora and her chariot of the sun, united emblematically with images of João V and Innocent XIII. The image of Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, embodies clearly the ultimate triumph of light over dark implied in the pastorale's representation of "Notte" and "Sole." The image of "aurora"—in the sense of both the mythological goddess and natural phenomenon—also served, however, as a well-known emblematic representation of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception in Portugal, where Mary's comparison to the pure and brilliant arrival of the dawn served in Marian villancicos of the Portuguese Royal Chapel to emphasize her sinless birth and ability to

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<sup>20</sup> Chracas, *Diario Ordinario* (Rome), no. 681 (November 29, 1721), 19–21. The iconography and stage set engravings are reproduced in Deanna Lenzi, *Meravigliose scene, piacevoli inganni; Galli Bibiena, Palazzo Comunale, 28 marzo–23 maggio, 1992*, exhibition catalog (Italy, 1992), nos. 36 and 37. A printed libretto is held at US-CAh, TS 8715.600 1721. The event is also described in Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, 107–108.

<sup>21</sup> "da quattro bravi Musici, che sono il Sign. Giacinto Fontana detto Farfallino, Sign. Ghezzi, Sign. Pacini, e Sign. Girolamo Bartoluzzi, e da due altri Musici, l'uno rappresentante la Notte, e l'altro il Sole."



overcome the darkness and obscurity of night.<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere, I have traced the connection between the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception to the image of Judith in detail.<sup>23</sup> It suffices here to note that the imagery of light and dark as symbolizing the triumph of good over evil is articulated in various forms in Portuguese cultural productions from the mid-seventeenth-century—including the aurora, the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, and also Judith—each of which would likely have been obvious to the Portuguese ambassador.

Moreover, the symbolism of light and dark pervades other Portuguese artistic works centered in the Roman context during this time. For instance, a cantata for three voices *Gloria, Fama e Virtú* by another Portuguese music scholar in Rome, António Teixeira, utilizes the three allegorical characters to extoll the splendor of Portugal's illustrious heroes.<sup>24</sup> The work, which was likely also performed around 1726 in Rome,

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<sup>22</sup> Lopes, "O vilancico na Capela Real portuguesa," 192–193. The comparison of the Virgin to the aurora and Judith are utilized occasionally in the same villancico productions, suggesting the tri-part association of the images. See the 1675 villancicos for the feast of the Immaculate Conception at the Portuguese Royal Chapel, for instance (P-Ln, Res. 191<sup>19</sup> P.).

<sup>23</sup> I examine this connection in detail in "The Symbol of Judith in Francisco António de Almeida's *La Giuditta* (c. 1726) and the Allegorical Accumulation of a Portuguese Myth," paper presented at the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music (Trinity University, San Antonio, TX), April 5, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> The work's manuscript is preserved today in the music collection of P-Ln, M.M. 4794. Program notes for a recent performance of the work by Divino Sospiro (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2012) offer various suggestions for possible performance dates (probably between 1721 and 1726) and locations (Lisbon or Rome) for the work. Teixeira returned to Lisbon from Rome in 1728, but I would suggest strongly that the work was performed in Rome, since the existing manuscript's hand and copying is nearly identical to that of Almeida's *La Giuditta*. In this case, the manuscript likely returned to Lisbon with Teixeira, and it appears to have been subsequently held in the Seminário da Patriarcal, where it is listed in an undated catalogue (P-Ln, M.M. 4987) from around 1830.

centers on extolling the virtues of the "magnanimo Ré del secol nostro"

(magnanimous King of our century), understood as João V. The work ends with the striking chorus: "Coi pregi suoi ei si fe degno di tanta gloria che i raggi spanderà dal Tago à Roma" (With his [João V's] merits, he made himself worthy of such glory that the rays diffuse from the Tagus to Rome). The Tagus River, Lisbon's pathway to the sea, and therefore to the world, in this case, becomes implicated in the spread of "light" to Rome, which, as in Scarlatti's pastorale, unites the Portuguese and Papal courts in the triumph of Catholicism in the world.

Described in the Apocryphal book of Judith, the beautiful Israelite widow, following a secret mission from God, saves her despondent village Bethulia from sure defeat under Holofernes's Assyrian army—an appendage of Nebuchadnezzar's military forces—by clandestinely infiltrating both Holofernes's camp and heart. Judith thus seizes an opportune moment and executes the crucial blow, severing Holofernes's head from his drunken and sleeping body.<sup>25</sup> Expectedly, in Almeida's libretto, Judith and Holofernes figure emblematically as opposing forces in the central clash between light and dark. With both characters serving as the generals for their respective armies, the two are matched musically in their fanfare-like trombe da caccia accompaniment, frequent driving rhythmic motion, and bravura arias—musical features reserved for these two characters and their dramatic oppositional statements. In the first scene of Part Two, as Judith departs for the Assyrian camp, the heroine's aria "Dalla destra onnipotente,"

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<sup>25</sup> My summary and interpretation of the Judith story is drawn from Carey A. Moore, *The Anchor Bible Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), and Solomon Zeitlin, ed., *The Book of Judith*, trans. and with commentary by Morton S. Enslin (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

excerpted in Figure 2.3, demonstrates Judith's musical (read: strategic) power, with the brazen text set as a brilliant and ornamented vocal melody. The string and oboe parts underscore this vocal melody with driving staccato sixteenth figurings, urging the text (and the heroine) forward. Though other arias by the heroine feature trombe da caccia—one musical marker of the work's military undertones—here the brass are suspiciously absent, perhaps implying that Judith's impending triumph will require no military force to match the Assyrian armed forces: in the end, she requires only a single sword.

**Figure 2.3: *La Giuditta*, "Dalla destra onnipotente," mm. 6–16.**

Violin I

Violin II

Oboe 1

Oboe 2

Viola

Giuditta

Bass

Dal - la des - tra om - ni - po - ten - te

scen - daun ful - mi - ne fre - men -

Solo

6  
b5

6  
b

6

The first system of the musical score includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, Oboe I, Oboe II, Viola, Guitar, and Bass. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The Violin I and II parts feature rapid sixteenth-note passages. The Oboe parts have more melodic lines. The Viola, Guitar, and Bass parts provide harmonic support with various rhythmic patterns.

The second system continues the musical score. It features a 'tremolo' marking over a long note in the Violin I part. The Oboe parts are mostly silent. The Viola, Guitar, and Bass parts continue their respective parts, with the Bass part ending on a note marked 'tc' (tutti).

### Giuditta

*Dalla destra onnipotente  
Scenda un fulmine fremente  
Tanti oltraggi a vendicar.*

*S'armi il ciel contro quell'empio  
E nel suo crudele scempio  
Senta omai quel grave sdegno  
Ch'egli osò di provocar.*

*Dalla . . .*

From the omnipotent right hand<sup>26</sup>  
A quivering lightning flash descends  
To avenge so many insults!  
Heaven arms itself against the heathen,  
And in his cruel slaughter  
He now feels the grave wrath  
Of him whom he dared to provoke

<sup>26</sup> Translations are adapted from Derek Yang, liner notes to Francisco António de Almeida, *La Giuditta: Oratorio*. René Jacobs. Harmonia Mundi, 1992, HMC 901411 and HMC 901412.

After arriving at the camp, Holofernes's subsequent aria is a call-to-arms that asserts his military strength, "Date, o trombe, il suon guerriero!" As shown in Figure 2.4, trumpet fanfares resound across the musical landscape of Holofernes's aria.

**Figure 2.4: *La Giuditta*, "Date, o trombe, il suon guerriero!," mm. 1–4.**

The musical score for Figure 2.4 consists of seven staves, each labeled with an instrument: Trombe da Caccia 1, Trombe da Caccia 2, Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The Trombe da Caccia parts feature prominent fanfares. The Oboe, Violin, and Viola parts provide harmonic support, while the Bass part has a more active, rhythmic role. The score is divided into four measures, with measure numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 indicated below the staves. The first measure of the Trombe da Caccia 1 part begins with a fanfare of eighth notes, while the Trombe da Caccia 2 part begins with a fanfare of quarter notes. The Oboe, Violin, and Viola parts begin with sustained notes, while the Bass part begins with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Their superficial calls soon evaporate, however, and Holofernes's final aria in the work reveals his weakness. Halting, langorous, and thinly orchestrated, his nonetheless exceedingly lovely aria "Cara, non paventar" practically melts away in Judith's presence. Marked "andante amoroso" in the manuscript (Figure 2.5), Holofernes's falling calls of "Cara!" (My dear!) stutter and start, prolonged by fermatas, lingering and soon dying.

Figure 2.5: Manuscript copy of *La Giuditta*, "Cara, non paventar!," D-B, Mus.Ms. 560, fol. 104–105.



As supporting actors in the work, the two additional characters Ozias and Achior both serve to underscore the illuminating faith of Judith. Achior's role seems particularly important as the antithesis of Holofernes: while Holofernes's innate darkness ultimately crushed him, Achior's previous darkness transforms to light. Upon Judith's triumphant return to Bethulia, for instance, Achior proclaims his conversion in language that recalls the dedication of the work:

Achiorre

*Oh nuovo ai giorni miei chiaro portento!  
L'alta virtù divina io ben comprendo,*

*onde, dal sen togliendo  
quelle tenebre in cui giacqui sepolto,  
i falli miei detesto ed abbandono,  
e a te, gran Dio, tutto me stesso io dono.*

O, a new, bright marvel of my days!

The exalted, divine power I now truly  
comprehend;

Hence, from my breast I wrench  
that darkness in which I was buried,  
I loathe my errors, and forsake them,  
And give myself, great God, wholly to thee.

Earlier in the work, Achior foreshadowed his conversion in similar language.

*La dolce speranza*

*con raggio sereno  
nel mesto mio seno  
comincia a regnar.*

Sweet hope

With its serene ray  
In my sad breast  
Begins to reign.

<i>Al cor più non sento  l'acerbo tormento,  e lieta già l'alma,  tranquilla la calma,  ritorna a sperar.  La dolce...</i>	In my heart I no longer feel Bitter torment, And already my joyful heart, In tranquility and peace Returns to hope. Sweet hope...
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The statement also suggests Almeida's dedication in its reference to the "raggio" (ray) that illuminates his inner peace, and in clever language flattering to the Portuguese nobility, Achiorre notes that the ray "comincia a regnar" (begins to reign).

Opposed to the central dramatic opposition between Judith and Holofernes, Judith and Ozias pair together, as well, not only to uphold faith but also to spread it. As such, Judith and Ozias end both parts of the oratorio in duets, where they proclaim their mutual faith. At the end of the first part, the two characters intertwine their thoughts:

Ozia <i>Vanne, addio. I desir tuoi....</i>	Go, farewell. Your wishes....
Giuditta <i>Resta, addio. I pensier miei...</i>	Stay, farewell. My thoughts...
Ozia and Giuditta <i>con felice amica sorte  piaccia al ciel di secondar.</i>	With happy, benign fortune May it please heaven to favor.
Ozia <i>Il mio core...</i>	My heart...
Giuditta <i>L'alma mia...</i>	My soul...
Ozia <i>dall'immenso suo dolore...</i>	From its immense woe...
Giuditta <i>dalla pena acerba e ria...</i>	From its bitter, wicked pain...
Ozia and Giuditta <i>già comincia a respirar.</i>	Already begins to recover.

At the end of the second part of the oratorio, another duet between Giuditta and Ozia skillfully completes the sentiment left hanging at the end of the first part. Whereas the first part's closing duet staggered their interjections, alternating uncertainly, the final duet is a bold statement where the two join solidly together: "e 'l mio core e l'alma mia / più non può né sa bramar" (And my heart and my soul / Can not long for more). With Judith at the center, poised against Holofernes and paired with Ozias, all three characters nonetheless seem to funnel into the work of Achior conversion. His conversion narrative stands as the longest running thread in the plot, introduced in the second scene and resolving in the next to last scene, when he delivers his simple, hymn-like conversion aria *Vengo a te*—the final solo aria in the work.

*"Quasi del tutto rinovato": Judith Oratorios by Almeida, A. Scarlatti, and Vivaldi*

Given that Almeida suggested his knowledge of (and improvement upon) other Judith settings in his dedication, it is useful to draw Almeida's oratorio into comparison with both the Vivaldi and Scarlatti oratorios—each of which might have had relevance to Almeida's setting and could have been familiar to a composer active in Rome's elite cultural circles.<sup>27</sup> This comparison will not only help to situate Almeida's work as part of

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<sup>27</sup> Scholars have given considerable attention to Scarlatti and Vivaldi's various settings. The most important studies of Scarlatti's oratorios include Norbert Dubowy, "Le due *Giuditte* di Alessandro Scarlatti: due diverse concezioni dell'oratorio," in *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII–XVIII): atti del convegno internazionale, Perugia, Sagra musicale umbra, 18–20 settembre 1997*, ed. Paola Besutti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2002), 259–288; Arnaldo Morelli, "Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratorio: nuovi documenti," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 2



the broader Italian corpus of Judith settings, but it will also serve to highlight the exceptional focus (and possible meaning) of Almeida's four-character setting. In the case of Scarlatti, the Roman composer was not only known active in the circles of the Arcadia, as was Almeida, but Melo e Castro sponsored the performance of Scarlatti's works, as noted in the example of the 1721 pastorale above. Scarlatti wrote two settings of Judith, today known as the "Naples" Judith with a libretto by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1694) and the "Cambridge" Judith (1697) with a libretto by the Cardinal's father Antonio Ottoboni. In the case of Vivaldi—though *Juditha triumphans* was performed in Venice, in performance contexts far removed from the Arcadian circles of Rome—the nature of the composition's creation betrays a subtle link to the Portuguese project in the Papal City. Vivaldi's Judith, as is well known, accompanied an explicit allegorical program, which was meant to commemorate the 1716 triumph of the Venetians over the Turkish army in the Battle of Corfù—the same battle to which the Portuguese offered decisive naval assistance and subsequently set in motion the long sought-after elevation of the Portuguese Royal Chapel to Patriarcal chapel in the same year.

As scholarship has often noted, the two Judith settings of Scarlatti to the Ottoboni libretti betray strikingly different portrayals of Judith, both in the textual and dramatic depiction of the heroine, as well as in the musical setting. As examined by Tcharos, the

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(1984), 117–144; David Swale, "The 'Judith' Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 9 (1977), 145–155; and Tcharos's discussion of Scarlatti's Judith settings in *Opera's Orbit*, 72–97. Important musicological studies of this work and its allegorical implications include: Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 409–447; and Selfridge-Field, "'Juditha' in Historical Perspective." The last of these sources as well as David Marsh's, "Judith in Baroque Oratorio" provide a short comparative analysis of the settings by Scarlatti, Vivaldi, and several other Baroque composers.

later "Cambridge" *La Giuditta* provides a more introspective, cunning Judith who defeats Holofernes through the skillful utilization of the feminine aspects of her character, such as her supreme beauty and eroticized charm (aspects well noted in the biblical story and one of the tale's most tantalizing elements). In emphasizing this relationship, the story unfolds entirely within Holofernes's camp. The "Naples" *La Giuditta*, however, focuses more strongly on the "dichotomous qualities and antagonistic passions of virtue over vice, or good over evil, inherent in the Judith/Holofernes juxtaposition."<sup>28</sup> In this sense, Almeida's setting aligns more closely with the "Naples" setting, as it also does in its structural alternation between the Assyrian and Bethulian camps in conveying the drama.

Nonetheless, Almeida's setting differs significantly from both Scarlatti settings, even the Naples version, in the characterization of Judith and in the dramatic narrative that precedes the moment of climax in Holoferne's murder. In both Ottoboni libretti—despite Judith's stronger militant nature in the Naples libretto—the heroine is still characterized primarily by her successful seduction of Holofernes leading up to the banquet scene. In both cases, Judith's seduction relies primarily on the heroine's physical beauty and her skillful evasion of (while still subtly encouraging) Holoferne's sexual advances. In the "Cambridge" setting, this seduction is enhanced by the dramatic intervention of Judith's nurse, who not only allows Judith to reflect her inner thoughts on that seduction process but also sometimes intervenes with her own contributions of

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<sup>28</sup> Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit*, 75.

feminine guile.<sup>29</sup> Primarily a musico-dramatic technique, which would have appealed strongly to the operatic entertainment qualities of oratorio in palatial performances, Judith's seduction and deception are concentrated in both textual and musical terms. In the "Naples" libretto, for instance, Giuditta describes her own beauty upon arriving to the Assyrian camp:

Giuditta

*Se di gigli e se di rose porto  
il volto e il seno adorno,  
bramo ancora più vezzose  
le bellezze in sì gran giorno.*

Though my face and breast  
Are adorned by lilies and roses,  
I long for more charming beauties  
On this great day.

The music of this aria—a simple and coy A-minor dance movement—opens the second part of Scarlatti's Naples setting, evoking the scene of the beautiful Judith beginning the clever sway that will lead to Olofernes's demise. In her unassuming phrases, which unfold in unhurried turns and melismas, Judith draws in the listener (and Holofernes), whose aural "eyes" can't seem to turn away from her effortless dance-like seduction. Judith also opens Almeida's second part but the contrast in the two scenes is obvious: whereas Scarlatti initiates the scenes leading to Holofernes's murder with a charming dance, Almeida's Judith delivers the promise of triumph in the heroine's "Dalla destra onnipotente" (see Figure 2.3 above), preparing the audience for the crushing murder that is to come with little mention of seduction. Upon her arrival to the Assyrian camp, Almeida's Judith diverts Holofernes's expected attention on her physical beauty. She

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<sup>29</sup> In Scarlatti's "Cambridge" Judith, for instance, the Nurse (Nutrice) receives almost equal musical and textual focus as the two other characters, Judith and Holofernes. Cabrini, "The Composer's Eye," also examines the focus on the nurse in Judith artistic and musical productions.

maintains the deception and allows the general to fall into her control, but she does not force her control over him through physical seduction:

Olofernes

*Ma quale io veggio agli occhi ed al sembiante*

*vaghissima donzella  
ver me volger le piante?*

But what do I see? To all  
appearances  
A most lovely maiden  
Makes her way toward me.

Giuditta

*Un' infelice ancella  
io son del tuo valore.  
Crudo destin mi fè sortir la cuna*

*colà, tra quelle mura  
a cui con fote sdegno  
minaccian l'armi tue fiera sventura.*

I am an unhappy handmaiden  
Of your valor.  
Cruel fate caused me to issue from  
the cradle  
Behind those walls  
That in furious rage  
Your arms now threaten with direful  
havoc.

Olofernes

*Donna gentil, nei vaghi lumi tuoi  
Amor pose il suo regno.*

Gentle woman, in your vague light  
Love has set his kingdom.

Giuditta

*Ah no, signor, meco scherzar tu voi.*

*Lo splendor che porto in volto  
egli è un lume  
di quel nume  
a cui serbo fedeltà.  
Se più vaghi sparge poi  
i sereni raggi suoi,  
cresce allora in me beltà.*

*Lo splendor &c.*

Ah no, my lord, you wish to jest with  
me  
The splendor that I bear in my face  
Is the light  
of that God  
In whom I preserve my faith.  
If he scatters his serene rays  
More broadly  
My beauty increases  
likewise.

Olofernes

*Illustre pellegrina, appena il guardo  
nell'amorose tue dolci pupille*

*fissai, che tosto al sen ben mille, e mille*

Illustrious stranger, I was transfixed  
In looking into your sweet, loving  
eyes  
Such that all at once a thousand

*fiamme sentii destarsi onde tutt' ardo.*

Flames I felt awakening in  
My breast.

*Chiedi pur ciò che brami, e chiedi molto,*

Request whatever it is that you  
desire, and

*ché può tuto impetrare il tuo bel volto.*

Request much, since your beautiful  
face may implore all.

In the aria "Lo splendor," Almeida's Judith comes close to Scarlatti's heroine in "Se di gigli." The dancing, minor tune is extended by sighing motives and fluttering vocalization, while the text ("porto il volto"), clearly evoke the sorts of charm that the heroine's beauty (willfully or not) imposed on the enemy. Yet, whatever sort of musical seduction her lines might enact, Almeida's Judith deflects her beauty to a higher force through her text. It is not her physical beauty, truly, but—again bringing to mind the imagery of the "rays" in Almeida's dedication already felt by Achior and here mimicked by Holofernes's sense of "flames"—a reflection of God's light.

Moreover, scholarship of Scarlatti's Judith settings has given focus to the narrative of sleep that follows Judith's seduction and precedes the moment of Holoferne's murder.<sup>30</sup> It is in this regard that Almeida's narrative can be seen to differ most crucially

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<sup>30</sup> Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit*, provides the most extensive discussion (82–91), though her discussion draws on Dubowy's concept of "realistic music," or music justified by some action in the drama (such as the use of lullaby on stage during dramatic moments related to sleep); see Dubowy, "Le due *Giuditte*," 266, for a list of this and other realistic song types utilized by Scarlatti in culminating the action of his oratorios. Though Tcharos associates the action of Judith lulling Holofernes to sleep to the biblical story, this action does not occur in the Apocryphal Book of Judith, where Holofernes presumably falls asleep on his own, as recounted in Chapter 13:1–8 (KJV): "(1) Now when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without, and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long. (2) And Judith was left along in the tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed: for he was filled with wine. (3) Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her coming forth, as she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas

from the Scarlatti settings. In both of Scarlatti's oratorios, Judith's slaying of Holofernes is enabled, primarily, by his timely descent into sleep, which is catalyzed by a sort of realistic lullaby music either by Judith directly (Naples) or her Nurse (Cambridge). In effect, the ability of the heroine (or her nurse) to lull Holofernes into sleep is as much his slaying as the actual murderous blow of the sword. Yet again, Almeida utilizes similar musical motives while upturning the narrative: in Almeida's setting, Judith does not lull Holofernes to sleep, nor does she need to. Following the banquet, the use of lullaby-like music indeed appears, but it is Holofernes who sings the lullaby that soothes himself into a dreamy, drunken sleep in the aria "Cara! Non paventar," already cited above. In that aria, Holofernes's sleepily sings the lilting triple meter lullaby, indicating the drowsy self-defeat of the "Other," as shown in Figure 2.5. A pulsing instrumental interlude, mimicking the sleeping enemy's soft breathing, follows the aria, and Judith quickly moves to action.

Comparison of Almeida's *La Giuditta* with Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* further underscores the former's clear focus on Judith as a martial figure (as opposed to seductress) and suggests the potential for Almeida's work to have served as a political allegory. Written just ten years prior to Almeida's setting, Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha*

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according to the same purpose. (4) So all went forth and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem. (5) For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute thine enterprizes to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us. (6) Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence, (7) And approached to his bed, and took hold of the hair of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day. (8) And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him."

*triumphans*, with a Latin libretto by Giacomo Casseti, bears an uncharacteristically explicit allegorical poem entitled “Carmen allegoricum,” since the work was commissioned to commemorate Venetian triumphs over the Turks in 1716.<sup>31</sup> Summarizing from Michael Talbot’s translation of the allegorical poem, in the Vivaldi/Casseti setting, Judith is symbolic of Adria (another way to say “Venice”); her maid Abra stands for faith; the city of Bethulia represents the Church; Ozia symbolizes the Pope; the Assyrian Holofernes represents the Turkish sultan; and finally, Holofernes’s servant Vagaus depicts the enemy commander, supposedly a eunuch, and possibly Ali Pasha, who was killed in an important battle against the Ottomans at Petrovaradin. The orchestra of Vivaldi’s work is large and features trumpets and timpani, alongside strings (including mandolin), continuo, and various winds, which underscore the military allegory, as well as showcase the Pietà’s instrumentalists through moments of lyricism.<sup>32</sup>

Though Almeida’s setting utilizes a much smaller orchestra, he too makes use of the *trombe da caccia*, which underscores martial texts in the conflict between the Assyrians and Bethulians (see Figure 2.4 above). The military tone of the work also appears evident on the title page of the libretto (see Figure 2.2), which displays an image of various war emblems, including swords, arrows, flags, and a trumpet, beneath the dedication to Melo e Castro. By comparison to the frontispiece of the libretto to Ottoboni and Scarlatti’s “Naples” Judith, which features the iconic image of Judith with sword and severed head, standing over the body of the slain enemy with his weapons at his feet,

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<sup>31</sup> See Talbot, *The Sacred Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 409–447; and Selfridge-Field, “‘Juditha’ in Historical Perspective,” 135–153.

<sup>32</sup> Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 409–410.

Almeida's libretto sets a different tone.<sup>33</sup> Almeida's frontispiece, rather, leaves aside the image of the heroine and focuses on the military undertone of the work, perhaps recalling instead the Vivaldi setting and the memory of the Portuguese contribution to the Ottoman-Venetian war.

Despite its allegorical program (or perhaps precisely because of the specificity of that program), Vivaldi and Cassetti—like Scarlatti and the Ottobonis—allow a more seductive depiction of Judith, aided by her nurse. Though Giuditta is the sole female character in Almeida's work, Vivaldi and Cassetti also utilize the character of Abra, Juditha's nurse, who aids her as she manipulates the Assyrians. Abra's role mainly serves to amplify what is a notable theme in Cassetti's libretto: as Talbot puts it, the “‘love-interest’ of the story.”<sup>34</sup> He writes further that Cassetti's focus on Juditha's beauty brings the work close to what would otherwise (minus the explicit allegorical nature of the work) be considered an *oratorio erotico*. Abra, for instance, instructs Juditha, to “Ama, langue, finge ardere” (Love, languish, pretend to burn) in order to seduce Holofernes. Without such an explicit allegorical program, however, I would argue that Almeida and his librettist eliminate such elements to focus the audience's listening elsewhere.

*"E che giammai può far femmina imbelle?": Judith as Allegory*

Precisely where Almeida and his librettist meant to direct that attention is a more difficult matter to determine. Indeed, the libretto addresses the problem precisely. Having

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<sup>33</sup> This image is reproduced in Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit*, 78.

<sup>34</sup> Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 415.



revealed God's intentions to save Bethulia through her actions (yet secret) at the end of Part One, the second part opens with Judith's departure for the Assyrian camp while Ozias and Achior contemplate her mission:

Achiorre

*Oh, come lieta alle nemiche schiere  
Giuditta inoltra il piede!  
Chi mai la regge e guida?*

O, how joyfully toward the enemy's ranks  
Judith guides her steps!  
What upholds and guides her?

Ozia

*Amore e fede.  
Della patria diletta*

Love and faith.  
She perceives the great danger to her  
beloved homeland,  
And boldly attempts  
To deliver it from the fury that terrifies it.

*scorge l'alto periglio, e ardita tenta  
di sottrarla al furore onde paventa.*

Achiorre

*E che giammai può far femmina imbelle?* But whatever can a defenseless woman do?

While comparison to the various Judith settings of Scarlatti and Vivaldi helps to begin to answer this question, it is also useful to further situate Almeida's Judith against other Portuguese artistic productions from the same period, where allegorical programs can likewise be found. In 1716, the same year that the pope raised the status of the Portuguese Royal Chapel for the defense against the Turks, and in which Vivaldi also wrote *Juditha triumphans*, an extravagant and meticulously planned envoy of four ornately decorated coaches marked then Portuguese ambassador, the Marquês de Fontes, Rodrigues de Annes e Sá's official entrance to Rome—some four years after he had actually arrived.<sup>35</sup> This moment, as has been well documented by art historians, remained

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<sup>35</sup> His title would later change to Marquês de Abrantes, by decree of João V, in 1718, and he was accepted into the Accademia delig Arcadi in 1722.

in popular memory and marked a heightened moment of Portuguese self-mythologizing in Rome that would persist throughout João V's reign. The envoy consisted of three main carriages, which were heavily decorated in sculpture based on the 1572 Portuguese epic poem *Os Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões, and they served to both recall the golden age of Lusitanian conquest that Camões originally wrote about, as well as to suggest its revival under João V. The arguable centerpiece of this envoy focused on the rear of the first noble coach (see Figure 2.6 below), known as “a Coroação de Lisboa” (the Coronation of Lisbon). The principal figure of this centerpiece sits boldly in the middle—a female Lisbon being crowned by Fame. Recalling the Turkish defeats, at Lisbon's feet, a dragon—the symbol of the Portuguese House of Bragança from which João V descended—tore apart an Ottoman crescent with its claws. Beneath, seated among scattered weapons and flanking the dragon, two figures of chained slaves, representing on the right an Ottoman Turk, and on the left, a Moor, suggested the religious impetus behind much of the Portuguese agenda in Rome. Much like Almeida's Holofernes and Achior, the downturned and upturned heads of the Turk and Moor, respectively, represent their resistance to and illumination under the conversion to Christianity.

These sorts of images are by no means isolated and serve as one example of the predominant form of Portuguese mythologizing in Rome in this period: an allegorical depiction of a female Lisbon (depicted elsewhere as Lusitania or Portugal), as well as

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Several of these coaches are preserved in the Museu Nacional dos Coches in Lisbon, Portugal. Images and details of the entirety of this envoy can be found in Marco Fabio Apolloni, “Wondrous Vehicles: the Coaches of the Embassy of the Marquês de Fontes,” in *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 89–102; and Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, 135–149.

images that convey Portugal's role in the Christianizing process, specifically through their triumphs over Islam and paganism—in this case, through the Moors, one of Portugal's many subjects of forced conversion, as well as Portugal's current missions against the Turks. This sort of imagery became widely associated with Portuguese imperialism and was intended to be “a powerful reminder of the evangelisation with which Portugal's missions were historically associated worldwide.”<sup>36</sup>

**Figure 2.6: The First Noble Coach of the Marquês de Fontes, 1716. Museu Nacional dos Coches, Lisbon.**



<sup>36</sup> Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, 145.

Examined more closely, moreover, the sculptures served a dual meaning.

Positioning the crescent moon and dragon at Lisbon's feet and the crown above Lisbon's head, the sculptures evoke the iconography of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>37</sup> Drawing on the Virgin Mary as the woman of the Book of Revelation "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" and a new Eve, trampling evil in the form of a serpent, or dragon, early eighteenth-century European visual arts had already codified this dual iconography as the crowned Virgin standing above a crescent moon and crushing a serpent underfoot.<sup>38</sup> Though the veneration of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception developed in Portugal as early as the fourteenth century, popular devotion to the cult reached its height following the 1640 restoration of Portuguese independence, which brought an end to a sixty-year union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns. As a type of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception in the Portuguese Church, Judith and the Virgin, together, became an important symbol in this period of Portuguese popular devotion, independence, and the salvation of mankind. With the growing support of Portuguese academic and theological authorities, newly crowned Portuguese king João IV (who led

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<sup>37</sup> See Kuntz, "The Symbol of Judith" for discussion of the representation of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception in early modern Portuguese art and music. Thanks to Anne Walters Robertson for drawing this subtle Marian imagery to my attention. Her article "The Savior, The Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), 537–630, provides an enlightening look at the use of Marian symbolism during the Renaissance.

<sup>38</sup> Revelation 12:1 (KJV): "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." Revelation 12:9 (KJV): "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him"; Psalms 91:13 (KJV): "Though shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."

the revolution and Restoration War) proclaimed the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception "Patron of the Realm" (Padroeira do Reino) on March 25, 1646,<sup>39</sup> and the king promoted the Virgin as Portugal's sovereign queen. Thereafter, the Virgin was the only Portuguese sovereign depicted with a crowned head. Solidifying the doctrine among Portuguese audiences, this iconography figured prominently in printed villancico chapbooks for the Portuguese Royal Chapel and printed sermons from midcentury for the feast of the Virgin (December 8). In these prints, the Virgin was often depicted standing above the crescent moon and serpent while wearing both the crown of stars and the Portuguese royal crown.

Nonetheless, the overlap of these conflicting images—in which, at once, the dragon represents the house of Bragança in its triumph over the Ottomans and the dragon of evil being crushed under the Virgin's (or here, Lisbon's) feet—makes a literal translation of the images difficult. Yet, the allegorical accumulation that seems to occur here, in which the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is mapped onto an allegorical female Lisbon strongly resemble Almeida's later presentation of Judith. The subtle conflation of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the crowned Lisbon would have been obvious here, especially to Portuguese audiences in Rome, and Judith's representation in *La Giuditta* could have mapped onto these images, as well.

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<sup>39</sup> *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira: Ilustrada com Cerca de 15.000 Gravuras e 400 Estampas a Côres*, Vol. 13 (Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, limitada, 1942), s.v. "Imaculada Conceição." Pope Clement X confirmed the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception as Portugal's patron in the breve *Eximia dilectissimi* on May 8, 1671. See also Miguel Oliveira, *A padroeira de Portugal: notas e documentos* (Lisbon: Edições Letras e Artes, 1940).

In *La Giuditta*, this symbolic mapping could have served an immediate goal in 1726: the veneration of the Arcadia, which was set to inaugurate the Portuguese-funded Bosco Parrasio that year. Of course, Almeida's *Il pentimento di Davidde* is a vivid testament to Portuguese interest in Arcadian society, but in the use of the emblem of Judith, *La Giuditta* might have served to emphasize that interest as well, especially through the powerful image of Judith's heroism in the face of paganism and the subsequent conversion of Achior. As Delaforce aptly notes, in reference to the society's founder Queen Christina of Sweden: "In associating himself with the Arcadians, Dom João V would have been very conscious of their by-now legendary founder, whose presence was still vividly recalled and whose dramatic abdication and conversion to Roman Catholicism were seen as a living symbol of the triumph of faith over heresy."<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the dedication of *La Giuditta* to Melo e Castro solidifies this crucial link. In the new Bosco Parrasio a large plaque at the entryway that extolled both the virtues of the Portuguese king who donated the funds, as well as Melo e Castro—the patron and dedicatee of *La Giuditta*—in arranging the donation:

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<sup>40</sup> Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, 101.

**IOÃNI V.**  
 LVSITANIAE REGI  
 PIO FELICI INVICTO  
 QVOD PARRHASII NEMORIS  
 STABILITATI  
 MVNIFICENTISSIME  
 PRO SEXERIT  
 COETVS ARCADVM VNIVERSVS  
 POSVIT  
**ANDREA DE MELLO DE CASTRO**  
 COMITE DAS GALVEAS  
 REGIO ORATORE  
 ANNO SAL. MDCCXXVI.<sup>41</sup>

Whether or not Almeida's *La Giuditta* meant to provide a transparent political allegory is difficult to determine, but his Judith appears much like the glorious rendering of Lisbon on the Marquês de Fontes's coach—an emblem at the center of Portugal's historical legacy, and yet crusader with much left to accomplish, surrounded by images that serve as an aggregate symbolism of her continued success.

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<sup>41</sup> Engraving by Crescimbeni reproduced from the Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania (PQ 4035.C7 vol. 6), 344, in Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal*, 80. My emphasis.

## INTERLUDE

### **In Sickness and in Health: The Question of Portuguese Oratorio Performance Context before 1755**

The silence that ensues in Portuguese documentation following the end of oratorio performances in the Sé Cathedral in 1723 and Almeida's oratorios in 1726—neither of which are known to have been subsequently produced in Portugal following his return to Lisbon—complicates any comprehensive history of the genre in Portugal. I have focused in Part One on leaving aside the ceaselessly pessimistic work of recovering musical performance in Portugal in the early eighteenth century. Given that this period would become obscured by the devastating loss of sources in 1755, this study can neither hope to elucidate a complete contextual history for oratorio performance at the Portuguese court nor expect to determine the complete details of those few works with documented records of performance. Chapters 1 and 2, however, demonstrate at least two instances in which the oratorio emerged out of Portuguese court patronage (if in both cases somewhat removed for the central locus of the court) and became entangled in a web of religious and political endeavors. In this brief interlude, I present various existing documents that suggest other possible avenues for oratorio performance in Portugal in the period before the earthquake.

#### *In Sickness*

Writing from Lisbon, where he had arrived some twelve years earlier, Bolognese composer Gaetano Maria Schiassi bemoaned the state of music in Portugal's capital city



in a much-cited letter to his fellow composer and friend Padre Martini in Rome on

May 1, 1747:

All entertainments are prohibited here due to the illness of the King, who from the first day of this misfortune has forbidden all theatrical entertainment and dances, and wants to turn the people to become saints by force. Church festivals and oratorios have not been forbidden and from this I can take some enjoyment in spite of my few skills and even though I am far away from the good taste . . . the oratorios with the Poetry by Signore Metastasio require two Choruses each . . .<sup>1</sup>

The ban on musical and theatrical entertainment that lasted through the king's death in 1750 was largely the result of a massive stroke that seriously incapacitated the king in 1742. The king had suffered bouts of illness throughout his reign; with each, the illness intensified and resulted in increasingly austere periods at court and across Lisbon.

Discussion of the oratorios ceases until a letter of April 30, 1750, in which Schiassi requested that Padre Martini send fugues for the choruses of the Metastasian oratorio settings, which he then mentioned by name: *Sacrificio d'Isacco* (which he already produced two years before, or sometime around 1748), *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (which he was currently working on), and two more oratorios to come, *La passione di Gesù Christo* and *Gioas, Rè di Giuda*.<sup>2</sup> Even after João V's death on July 31, 1750, when

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Gaetano Maria Schiassi to Padre Martini, May 1, 1747 (I-Bc, I.004.023; Schnoebelen 4991). All letters cited in this section are available through the I-Bc digital collections. "Costi stà proibito tutti i divertimento à causa della malattia del Rè che dal primo giorno che gli [diede] un accidente proibi le feste teatrali e danze è vuole che la gente [sia] Santa [per] forza. Le feste delle chiese e Oratorij non sono proibiti onde di [q.e] me godo qualche parte anche mi che posto fare con la mia poca abilita mentre sono lontano dal buon gusto. . . . [G]l'oratorij con la Poesia del Sg.r Abate metastasio ependoni cada uno due Cori. . ." See Anne Schnoebelen, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979).

<sup>2</sup> I-Bc, I.004.024 (Schnoebelen 4992).

a period of mourning no doubt ensued, Schiassi continued to solicit and remind Padre Martini to send these fugues through the end of that year.<sup>3</sup>

Schiassi's correspondence raises several important issues for the study of Italian oratorio in the early eighteenth century in Portugal. From a purely historical viewpoint of the genre's introduction and development in that country, the letters suggest that even before the prohibition of theatrical entertainment in 1742, Italianate oratorio had been a known genre in the capital. Schiassi himself had arrived in Lisbon in 1735, and João V had contracted Italian composers and musicians (such as the well-known case of Domenico Scarlatti) since at least the 1720s. Meanwhile Portuguese composers who had studied music in Italy, such as Almeida, had since returned to work at the Portuguese court. In any case, by 1742, the importation of Italian genres was not new, and former Spanish musical traditions at court were all but relics of a distant past. At the time of Schiassi's letters, however, Metastasio's oratorios would have all been relatively new works, speaking therefore to a relatively quick importation of at least Metastasian libretti by Schiassi to the Portuguese context.<sup>4</sup> From the perspective of performance context, the correspondence also suggests that oratorio was not necessarily a product of the Lenten period, as it would be in later reigns, but rather that it was considered a more generally appropriate genre for performance where religious devotion was concerned, such as in periods of illness.

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<sup>3</sup> See his letters to Padre Martini from June 12 and December 29, 1750 (I-Bc, I.004.026 [Schoebelen 4994] and I.004.028 [Schoebelen 4995], respectively).

<sup>4</sup> Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 3:52–53.

Where exactly the oratorios might have been performed is more difficult to say. Not much is known about Schiassi's role in Lisbon, except that he was a member of the Royal Chapel and a composer under employment of João V's brother, the Infante D. Manuel, as well as a composer at one of Lisbon's public theaters, the Academia da Trindade.<sup>5</sup> Far less is known about Schiassi's specific work at the court than in the public theater. However, with Schiassi's work likely crossing both court and public performing institutions, the oratorios might have served either context.

Several factors might be considered, however, that suggest public theater performances more strongly. Arriving in November 1735, Schiassi's setting of Metastasio's *Farnace* was performed the following month, constituting the first recorded public Italian opera production in Lisbon.<sup>6</sup> Alessandro Maria Paghetti, who would later organize the Academia da Trindade, directed the performance.<sup>7</sup> Across the following years, Schiassi's name appears on several more Metastasian libretti for performances at this institution and later at another public theater in Lisbon, the Teatro Novo da Rua das Condes. Metastasian libretti do not appear in court performance until 1752 with David Perez's *Il Demofoonte*, despite significant documentation of serenatas and other *drammas per musica* at court to anonymous libretti.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 15; Mazza, *Dicionario biographico de musicos portugueses*, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 15. Consult Brito's chronology for other works by Schiassi produced in Lisbon in this period.

<sup>7</sup> Alessandro Paghetti was also a violinist at the Royal Chapel, as indicated by Walther in his *Musikalisches Lexicon*, 492.

<sup>8</sup> See Chronology in Brito, *Opera in Portugal*.

The Metastasian libretti thus seem to suggest performances in public theater contexts. While the complete prohibition of theatrical performances due to the king's illness brought all theatrical works to a halt at both the court and theaters, Schiassi's letter to Padre Martini suggests that oratorio fell outside the qualification of "theatrical" entertainment. It seems possible that the theaters would have remained open for the performance of such works to maintain their financial stability, though future study is necessary to further explore this possibility.

### *In Health*

Further evidence of a highly unusual oratorio performance in 1747 speaks to the broader possible styles and contexts for oratorio performance in Portugal in the pre-earthquake period. On the occasion of the king's temporary recovery in the fall of that year, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reported a five-day celebration from September 10–15 in the country's northern city of Porto in order to offer thanks to the divine for relief from the king's ongoing illness.<sup>9</sup> As reported in the *Gazeta*, the fourth day of these celebrations featured:

. . . an Oratorio in music for five voices with recitatives and arias in the form of the operas; [the work] was composed entirely in Portuguese verse, was equally well executed, and in its entirety alluded to the improvement of our Sovereign. [The performance] went on for three hours, followed by sumptuous refreshment, as there had been on the previous two days.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 40, October 5, 1747.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. "No quarto houve hum Oratório em musica de cinco vozes com recitados, e arias, na fôrma das operas: tudo composto em métro Portuguez, e igualmente bem executado, e

The report goes on to describe the newly constructed performance venue for the oratorio:

For the performance of these celebrations, in his natural generosity, His Excellency [the Bishop of Porto] ordered the construction of a spacious wooden roof of 112 hands of length and 50 of width on the patio of his palace, with six shaded windows per side, and adorned inside with silk, and gold, with chairs, and benches for 1,200 people, at the head of which was placed a magnificent throne, beneath a precious collection of portraits of our beloved Monarchs . . .<sup>11</sup>

The oratorio, performed on the fourth day of the celebration, was preceded by three days of processions, religious services, and music (including a *Te Deum*) and recitations and sermons in Latin and other languages. The fifth and final day of the celebrations concluded with an enormous and much admired fireworks display on the river Douro that was so well attended that the admirers, embarked in boats, "formed a new and populous City on the river."<sup>12</sup>

There are several curious issues in this report, not least of which is the enormous audience for the performance (1,200 people!). Moreover, the report that the work was composed entirely in "Portuguese verse" could mean either that the work was sung in Portuguese (a very unlikely case—there are no documented performances of an oratorio sung in Portuguese at any point in the century) or that a Portuguese translation was

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tudo alusivo a melhoria do nosso Soberano. Durou 3 horas, e se lhe seguiu hum sumptuoso refresco, como tinha havido nos 2 dias precedentes."

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. "Para recitaçam destes aplausos havia a natural generosidade de Sua Excelencia mandado construir no pateo do seu palacio huma espaçosa sala de madeira de 112 palmos de comprimento, e 50 de largura, com 6 janélas por banda, toldada, e adornada interiormente de seda, e ouro, com cadeiras, e bancos para mil e duzentas pessoas; e na cabeça della colocados sobre hum magnifico trono, e debaixo de hum precioso docel os retratos de amos os nossos augustos Monarcas, cujos gloriosos Ascendentes esmaltavam retratados a soberba guarniçam da sala."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. "No quinto dia houve no Douro hum magnifico artificio de fogo, que foy admirado de todos os moradores (os quaes embarcados formavam huma nóva, e populosa Cidade no rio)."

provided for a work written and sung in Italian (as is the case in some examples of oratorio libretti later in the century).<sup>13</sup> Given the three-hour duration and report of recitatives and arias in the style of opera, this was very likely an Italianate work, regardless of the language of the distributed libretto. Another possibility is that the work was more closely related to the Spanish-style oratorios described in Chapter 1, for which Portuguese or Castilian texts would not be entirely unexpected, and which also featured arias and recitatives. Given the abandonment of such styles by the early 1720s in Lisbon, this latter scenario seems highly unlikely.

Nonetheless, the context of performance in September, as part of a larger celebration, demonstrates definitively that oratorio did not in this period serve to simply substitute opera during Lent, as it did in many places elsewhere in Europe. Rather, the genre seems to have served the needs of at least semi-religious devotion, whether due to the prohibition of theatrical works due the king's sickness or in celebration of their temporary relief. Furthermore, that the work "alluded in its entirety" to the temporary health of the king speaks to either a newly composed work or the obvious symbolic interpretation of an existing work. While perhaps not the most typical oratorio performance context, the report proves, finally, that the genre—or some conception of it—had by the mid-eighteenth-century spread across the country. It was, in any case, likely the most well attended oratorio performance in all of Portugal's history.

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<sup>13</sup> Settings of Metastasio's *Betulia liberata* appear in Lisbon's public theaters from the 1760s and occasionally include both an Italian libretto and a separate Portuguese text translation. I discuss these documents further in Chapter 4, and I explore the possibility that the Portuguese translations were sold as "teatro de cordel" prints (for reading only by the public) and were not necessarily for a given performance. For public theater oratorio performances, see Appendix 1.

**PART TWO**  
**Aftermath and Anxiety: Performing Power and Conceding to Revolutions in Court Oratorio (1750–1807)**

The earthquake that consumed Lisbon on the morning of November 1, 1755, remains one of the most defining moments in all of Portuguese history.<sup>1</sup> In a matter of hours, the center of the Portuguese empire—an empire that had once constituted the largest and most powerful global thalassocracy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—was reduced to rubble and ashes. Fortuitously spared from death, the royal family nonetheless lost the royal palace and the vast majority of the institutions that had constituted its central power structure in the Portuguese nation and colonial empire. A deep religious fervor—no doubt due in part to the occurrence of the earthquake as the Portuguese celebrated All Saint's Sunday—set in, and the whole of Europe pondered the

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<sup>1</sup> The Lisbon earthquake has received extensive attention in the scholarly literature. For a recent historical study, see João Duarte Fonseca, *1755: O terramoto de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Argumentum, 2004); for an earlier but extensive study of the post-earthquake period, see Gustavo de Mattos Sequeira, *Depois do Terramoto*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1916). For transcriptions and analysis of contemporary accounts of the devastation, see Judite Nozes, trans. *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: British Accounts* (Lisbon: British Historical Society of Portugal, 1990); and Charles Ralph Boxer, *Some Contemporary Reactions to the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755* (Lisbon: Revista da Faculdade de Letras, 1956). For the effect of the earthquake on court musical establishments, see Cristina Fernandes, "O terramoto de 1755 e as suas implicações na organização da prática musical na Capela Real e na Patriarcal," in *1755: Catástrofe, Memória, e Arte*, ACT14 (Lisbon: Edições Colibri/Centro de Estudos Comparatistas, 2006), 219–228; the volume in which this chapter appears includes, moreover, general studies of the 1755 earthquake's impact on the arts in Lisbon. Although less a scholarly study than a vibrant historical retelling of the events and aftermath of the earthquake, Nicholas Shrady's *The Last Day: Wrath, Ruin, and Reason in the Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008) provides a useful bibliography of contemporary accounts, reactions, and the development of religious and philosophical thought following the devastation.

fate of the Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> Musically, the great fall was symbolized by the near complete destruction of the Ópera do Tejo, the king's much-anticipated and spectacular new opera house that had only opened some six months earlier. Even if the opera house had withstood the destruction, many of the king's recently contracted and renowned vocalists—those who survived—quickly departed Lisbon for more solid ground.<sup>3</sup>

Yet the earthquake also acted as a unique moment for renewal. From the ruins, a new Lisbon arose that in many ways left behind the foundations of the old city. The city's engineers devised, for instance, a new system of urban planning, and the reconstruction efforts of Lisbon's center city set a new standard of design by offering, for the first time in Europe, gridded streets and wide sidewalks.<sup>4</sup> The royal family relocated to a new palace, reconstructed far outside the center of the city, and Lisbon regrew around newly organized governmental, cultural, and financial institutions, largely under the guidance of

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<sup>2</sup> Voltaire famously wrote about the Lisbon earthquake and its effect on philosophical optimism in his *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne, ou, Examen de cet axiome "tout est bien"* (Poem on the Lisbon Catastrophe, or Examination of the axiom "All for the Best") (1756); see Anthony Hecht and Lynd Ward's edition of the work (Lincoln, MA: Penmæn Press, 1977). Voltaire later reprised his ideas on the earthquake in *Candide, ou L'Optimisme* (Candide, or Optimism; 1759); see Robert Martin Adams's translation and edition for additional background and criticism: *Candide, or, Optimism: A New Translation, Backgrounds, Criticism* (New York: Norton, 1966). Numerous other contemporary writings on the nature of the reactions to the devastation—both religious and philosophical—can be found in Shrade's bibliography in *The Last Day*. An important Portuguese religious account is G. Malagrida's *Juízo da verdadeira causa do terramoto* (Lisbon, 1756).

<sup>3</sup> See Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 24–31; and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, "O rei diverte-se: os anos da ópera (1750–1755)," in *D. José: na sombra de Pombal*. Reis de Portugal. (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008), 72–96.

<sup>4</sup> See José Augusto França, *A reconstrução de Lisboa e a arquitectura pombalina* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Lengua Portuguesa, 1989); and an earlier account by Francisco Luiz Pereira de Sousa, *Efeitos do terramoto de 1755 nas construções de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1909).



the Marquês de Pombal—Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, King José's Secretary of State, who is remembered in history for both his foresight and sense of progress, if also the sometimes ruthless tactics by which he realized his goals.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps too devastating to resurrect, the Ópera do Tejo was never reconstructed (and only much later replaced by the Real Teatro de São Carlos in 1793).

During the reconstruction of the city, Lisbon lacked operatic performances of any sort for about ten years, but music did find its way back into Portuguese court and cultural life, slowly but surely, from the 1760s. It is impossible to know what might have developed musically at the mid- to late-eighteenth-century Lisbon court, or what further documentation might have remained to help reveal the court productions of the early eighteenth century had the earthquake never occurred. Yet by all accounts the reign of José I marked a distinct shift from the work of his father João V; whereas João V placed all of his energy on the model of Rome and the amplification of the Patriarcal, the younger José enjoyed the more worldly pursuits of hunting and opera.<sup>6</sup> Writing to her mother in Spain in 1743, the Spanish princess Mariana Victória—José's bride and soon to

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<sup>5</sup> A thorough recent study of Pombal's legacy and controversy is Kenneth Maxwell's *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> See Monteiro's chapter in *D. José*, cited above. Visiting the Lisbon court between 1772 and 1776, English traveler Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall stated the king's interests clearly: "Two passions or pursuits, hunting and music, principally occupied his [José I's] time, absorbed his thoughts, and divided his affections: nor was it easy to decide which of them possessed the strongest ascendant over him. In the former diversion he passed the far greater part of the day: to the latter amusement his evenings were principally or wholly dedicated, either in public, when at the Opera; or in private, with his family. . . . On Sundays he seldom or never missed attending the Italian Opera in Lisbon; but he likewise maintained another Opera at Belem [Ajuda], his residence near the capital." See Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs of My Own Time*, Vol. I (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1815), 11–12.

be queen—expressed her new husband's focus clearly: "[José I] really doesn't like the Patriarcal so much."<sup>7</sup> The Ópera do Tejo represented this shift in focus from the first years of José I's reign, but its subsequent destruction caused a harsh reevaluation of the monarchy's goals—including musical goals. While opera did return, it did so with a more distinct sense of discretion.

Part of what helped to mediate that discretion was a clearer emphasis on musical court ceremony as now dictated by the sorts of religious concerns that did not preoccupy the young king and his queen prior to the earthquake. The incidental timing of several important name day and birthday celebrations, which, depending on the calendar, sometimes fell within the span of Lent and sometimes within Holy Week, seems to have eventually impressed on the monarchy a need for musical ceremony of a more religious sort, such as oratorio, which grew increasingly strong through the early 1790s. While José I and his Queen Mariana Vitória incorporated such sacred dramatic genres into their ceremonial rather haphazardly, under the rule of Maria I, secular musical ceremony was replaced entirely in Lenten and Holy Week court galas by oratorios and similar genres.

Despite these efforts, by the end of the century the Portuguese court found itself in a state of crisis. Hastened by the growing tension over monarchical power due to the French Revolution, the Portuguese court increasingly lost its grip on the strongly centralized power of the court. Under the subsequent rule of João VI (prince regent from

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<sup>7</sup> Letter of April 6, 1743, to her mother Isabel de Farnese, Queen of Spain, transcribed in Caetano Beirão, ed., *Cartas da Rainha D. Mariana Vitória para a sua família de Espanha que se encontram nos Arquivos Históricos de Madrid e Geral de Simancas*, Vol. 1: 1721–1748 (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1936), 246. She writes, "n'aime pas tant la patriarchal."

1793), the monarchy aligned itself newly to the civic and public spheres of the city. In part this was due to the development of Lisbon's strong upper middle class aristocracy in the late eighteenth century. Gaining access to cultural institutions and political positions of power especially later in the century, by 1792 this socio-cultural group made large strides in establishing itself as a powerful counterbalance to court politics. Two events—which draw together musical and political productions—serve to emphasize this turn: the birth of the Portuguese princess Maria Teresa, Princess of the Beira, whose multi-day celebration reveals a curious new form of oratorio production, and almost immediately thereafter, the opening of the Real Teatro de São Carlos in 1793, after which court musical ceremony transferred completely to the new public space. In both instances, oratorio productions reveal new context and meaning in oratorio performance, underscoring the continued but shifting dialogue of court patrons with political agendas and religious propriety in a period of increasing anxiety and change.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### Of Earthquakes and Heirs: Religious Propriety and Devotion in Post-Earthquake Portuguese Court Musical Ceremony

Following João V's death in late July 1750, a period of appropriate bereavement ensued. Such periods were long and taken seriously at the Portuguese court; often the court cancelled all musical ceremony, which from the mid-eighteenth-century included the Carnival opera season and the various royal name day and birthday celebrations of the highest royal figures, for a half year or more.<sup>1</sup> During the late reign of João V, court austerity due to the king's ongoing illnesses meant that such musical spectacle was at a minimum, in any case, and following his death, his son and heir, the newly crowned D. José I, meant to follow the period of mourning with a renewed sense of court musical ceremony and spectacle—a new temporary theater (Teatro do Forte) in the royal palace (the Paço da Ribeira, located in the center city of Lisbon) opened by 1752, and plans for the new Ópera do Tejo began almost immediately. Along with these plans, the king

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<sup>1</sup> Court financial records (P-Lant, Casa Real) clearly demonstrate the temporary hiatus that ensues after each royal death. Months often go by without a documented musical expense; musical productions in such records resume regularly after, often, six or more months. A number of these records will be discussed below.

The celebration of royal name and birthdays with dramatic musical productions at the Portuguese court appears to have been introduced by Queen Maria Ana of Austria (wife of João V) early in the eighteenth century. Fernandes has noted that the solemn celebration on the name and birthdays of the royal family members began immediately after their baptism. Yet dramatic musical productions (serenata, opera, or oratorio, for instance) do not seem to have generally occurred as part of this ceremony except for the highest echelon of the royal family—the king and queen, and occasionally, the heir. See Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra," 414–415, and discussion below.

quickly began the process of contracting some of Europe's renowned vocalists, including the tenor Anton Raaff and the castrato *Gizziello*, for the inauguration of the new theaters.<sup>2</sup>

As in previous reigns, the music ceremony that ensued at the court of José I served to underscore and establish the power structure of the new ruler through a yearly cycle of gala and hand-kissing (*beija-mão*) ceremonies, which nearly always included dramatic—and often the most lavish—musical performances at court.<sup>3</sup> Demonstrated in Table 3.1 below, this yearly cycle shifted with each new ruler across the eighteenth century; when José I's name and birthday fell silent upon the king's death in 1777, a new cycle of court ceremony was introduced in celebration of the new queen Maria I.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Brito discusses court opera under José I fully in Chapter 2 of *Opera in Portugal*.

<sup>3</sup> On European court representational culture across the eighteenth century, see Blanning, *The Power of Culture*. The tradition at the Portuguese court, including the *beija-mão* ceremony, is discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> There are many others important yearly ceremonial dates throughout the eighteenth century at the Portuguese court, but few were celebrated with the regularity of the dates listed in Table 3.1 below. Whereas most royal family members received some sort of special treatment on their birthday or name day even before their official reign began—Maria I's birthday, for instance, was celebrated with a serenata in the king's chambers in 1754—only after the monarch's official reign begins are musical productions elevated and produced with regularity.

**Table 3.1: Most important dates for musical ceremony at the Portuguese court (1707–1792)**

<b>Reign of João V (1707–1750)</b>		
<b>Date</b>	<b>Ceremony/Occasion</b>	<b>Years Celebrated with Musical Productions<sup>5</sup></b>
June 24	Name day, João V (king)	1712–1738
July 26	Name day, Maria Anne of Austria (queen)	1709–1735
September 7	Birthday, Maria Anne of Austria	1716–1739
October 22	Birthday, João V	1711–1739
<b>Reign of José I (1750–1777)</b>		
March 19	Name day, José I (king)	1753–1776 (José I dies February 24, 1777)
March 31	Birthday of Mariana Vitória (queen) <sup>6</sup>	1753–1780 (Mariana Vitória dies January 23, 1781)
June 6	Birthday, José I	1752–1776
<b>Reign of Maria I (1777–1792)<sup>7</sup></b>		
March 19	Name day, Prince José (heir, son of Maria I and Pedro III)	1778–1788 (Prince José dies September 11, 1788)
March 21	Name day, Princess Maria Benedita (princess, wife to José)	1778–1791

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that these years do not always coincide the lifespans or reigns of the figure in question. For instance, surveying the dates in the pre-1750 period, it becomes clear that nearly all musical productions cease by 1739 for name day and birthday ceremonial (presumably because of the king's ongoing bouts of illness). I have included the years between which the ceremony occurred in nearly each year, and during which time the ceremony received the most extensive treatment in terms of musical production. Within these date ranges, not all years had performances (especially due to pauses for royal mourning); in other instances no performances seem to have occurred, but perhaps only due to missing documentation. I have generalized the dates in which musical performances seem to have regularly occurred from the chronology of operatic performances completed by Brito in *Opera in Portugal*. I have noted the dates of royal deaths, where appropriate, in the table.

<sup>6</sup> Curiously, Queen Mariana Vitória does not seem to have celebrated a name day.

<sup>7</sup> When Maria I's mental health deteriorated in the early 1790s, court musical performances drew to a close; simultaneously, Maria's son prince João (future king João VI) took over as prince regent, signing official royal documents for his ailing mother. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the ascent of the prince regent signifies a deep shift in Portuguese court politics and the ceremonial of the absolute monarchy gives way to new integration with public musical culture.

	and sister of Maria I)	
June 28	Name day, Pedro III (king consort to Maria I and brother of José I)	1778–1785 (Pedro III dies May 25, 1786)
July 5	Birthday, Pedro III	1778–1785
July 25	Birthday, Princess Maria Benedita	1778–1791
August 21	Birthday, Prince José	1778–1788
December 17	Birthday, Maria I (queen)	1778–1791
December 18	Name day, Maria I	1778–1790
<b>From 1789 (after heir José dies)–1791</b>		
April 25	Birthday, Princess Carlota Joaquina (wife of Prince Regent João)	1789–1791
May 13	Birthday, Prince Regent João	1789–1791
June 24	Name day, João	1789–1791
November 4	Name day, Carlota Joaquina	1789–1791

With the reign of José I, the shifting cycle of court ceremony was complicated by the overlap of central court ceremonial with the religious calendar. During the reign of João V, the most important dates of court ceremonial fell between June and October (a relatively uncomplicated period in the religious calendar). However, both José I and his queen dealt with the concerns of name and birthdays in late March, which coincided frequently with the solemn season of Lent. The propriety of Lent does not appear to have received much focus in the short five years prior to the earthquake (1750–1755), during which time even Lenten productions maintained a secular focus; only when such ceremonial fell within Holy Week did the court cancel secular productions and withhold dramatic music until Easter Sunday had passed. As the court worked to rebuild its ceremonial cycle after the earthquake, however, such concerns intensify. The increasing

production of oratorios for the Lenten celebrations at court during this period suggests an ongoing engagement with questions of musical appropriateness.

Indeed, by the early 1780s, the genre of oratorio formed an established tradition of Lenten entertainment for court gala under Maria I (known before her madness as "A Piedosa"—the Pious) whose reign was characterized by its deeply devout undertones.<sup>8</sup> My analysis of the oratorios produced under Maria I suggests that the queen amplified the production such works as part of court ceremony to emphasize the stability of her power (connected carefully to her king and heir) in both political and religious terms.

*Sacred Dramatic Music for Name days and Birthdays: Court Ceremonial and the Religious Calendar from 1750–1777*

As recorded dutifully in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the court broke the period of mourning for João V, who had passed in July of 1750, in 1751 for the "beija-mão" (hand-kissing) ceremony on March 19 and March 31—the new king's name day and the queen Mariana Vitória's birthday, respectively. Yet musical productions only resumed later in 1752. By the king's name day in March 1753, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reports:

On Monday the 19th, day of the glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph, the name of our King was celebrated in the Palace. All the Lords of the Court, all the Tribunals, the Prelates of all the religious orders, the Nuncio of the Pope, the Ambassador of France, the Envoy of England, and the majority of the Ministers of Foreign Kingdoms came together to give their congratulations to their Majesties, and

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<sup>8</sup> Discussions of Maria I's madness figure prominently in the scholarly literature on her reign. See Luísa V. de Paiva Boléo, *D. Maria I: a rainha louca* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2009); and Jenifer Roberts, *The Madness of Queen Maria: The Remarkable Life of Maria I of Portugal* (Chippenham: Templeton, 2009).



Highnesses. The Most Excellent Lady Countess of *Baschi*, Ambassador of France had an hour long audience with the Queen, our Lady, during this occasion, and afterwards also with the Most Serene Lady Queen Mother. At seven o'clock that night there was also an excellent Serenata of instruments and voices in the second Dossel room of the Queen's chambers, which was attended by the Royal family, and the majority of the Nobility of both sexes.<sup>9</sup>

Just twelve days later, a similar gala was held for the queen's birthday:

On Saturday of last month [March], on which was celebrated the thirty-fifth birthday of the very Noble Queen, our Lady, all the Ministers of the Foreign Kingdoms resident in this Court came together to give their congratulations and to greet the King, our Lord, and their Highnesses. The Most Excellent Lady Countess of *Baschi* had an audience also with the Queen on this same occasion, taking more time with her than on the first audience. All the Nobles, and the Lords of the Court kissed the hand of their Highnesses and at nine o'clock that night, there was an excellent and harmonious Serenata in the chambers of the King, our Lord, in which shone greatly the voices of the great musicians *Egypcielli*, *Raff*, and *Mazzoli*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Gazeta de Lisboa*, Num. 12. March 22, 1753, 96. "Na segunda feira 19, dia do glorioso Patriarca S. Jozé se festejou no Paço o nome do Rey Nosso Senhor. Todos os Senhores da Corte, todos os Tribunaes, os Prelados de todas as Religioens, o Nuncio do Papa, o Embaixador de França, o Enviado de Inglaterra, e os mais Ministros das Potencias Estrangeiras concorreram a dar o parabem as Suas Magestades, e Altezas. A Excelentissima Senhora Condessa de *Baschi*, Embaixatriz de França teve pela huma hora audiencia da Rainha nossa Senhora, com esta ocaziam, e depois a teve da Serenissima Senhora Rainha Mãe. Pelas sete horas da noite houve huma excelente Serenata de instrumentos, e vozes na segunda caza do Dossel do quarto da Rainha Nossa Senhora a que assistiu a familia Real, e a mayor parte da Nobreza de ambos os sexos."

<sup>10</sup> "Raff" is, of course, Anton Raaff—a German tenor who the Portuguese king had recently contracted for the Portuguese court. "Egypcielli" is perhaps the famed castrato "Gizziello" (Gioacchino Conti), whom the king also contracted for a handsome sum. He would flee the country following the 1755 earthquake. "Mazzoli" remains unidentified. *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Num. 14. April 5, 1753, 112. "No Sabado 31. do mez passado, em que se cumpriu o trigessimio quinto anniversario do nascimento da muito Augusta Rainha nossa Senhora, concorreram ao Paço a darlhe o parabem todos os Ministros das Potencias Estrangeiras reside[n]tes nesta Corte, e cumprimentáram ao Rey nosso Senhor, e a Suas Altezas. A Excele[n]tissima Senhora Condessa de *Baschi*, teve tambem audiencia da Rainha N. S. com a mesma ocaziam; e se dilatou mais tempo, que na primeira. Todos os grandes, e Senhores da Corte beijaram a mam as SS. MM. e AA. e de noyte houve no quarto do Rey nosso Senhor huma excelente, e harmonioza Serenata, em que brilhàram muito as vozes dos grandes Musicos *Egypcielli*, *Raff*, e *Mazzoli*."

Even though these two royal galas fell well within the boundaries of Lent (which had begun on March 7 that year), it appears that secular productions nonetheless continued throughout Lent. While the *Gazeta* refers only to the productions by the term *serenata* (which, as will be shown, could be used generally to indicate sacred or secular works), printed libretti and a manuscript score confirm the latter *serenata* for March 31 as Metastasio's *L'Olimpiade*, set to music by the court composer David Perez.<sup>11</sup> In the following years, similar court galas were held on March 19 and 31, but what is curious is that while the king's name day appears to have been celebrated with a *serenata* of a more or less fashionable sort, such works typically remain anonymous and without specific details, lacking printed libretti or music manuscripts—perhaps because the king's name day held less importance than his birthday. The works for the queen's birthday on March 31 from 1753 to 1755 are decidedly more spectacular. Each of the works produced for the queen's birthday in these three years featured music by David Perez (the most highly regarded composer at the court), including *L'Olimpiade* (Metastasian libretto) in 1753 and *L'Ipermestra* (anonymous libretto) in 1754. The grandest spectacle was to be found, however, in the production of *Alessandro nell'Indie* (Metastasian libretto) for the opening of the Ópera do Tejo on March 31, 1755. Large-scale operatic works matched these three spectacles for the king's birthday on June 6 from 1753 to 1755, making the celebratory season of March 31 to June 6 among the court's most spectacular in each of those three years.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 135.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–31 and 135–137.

This celebratory season from mid-March to June is curious for several reasons, the most obvious of which is that the king's name day and queen's birthday typically (but not always) fell within Lent. The court was well aware of the propriety required of Lent and regularly journeyed to Salvaterra (where they maintained a palace and theater) to pass the Carnival season with abundant operatic productions in preparation for the more austere Lenten season.<sup>13</sup> Yet the only period that appears to have strictly prohibited secular productions and galas alike at court was Holy Week (from Palm Sunday [*Domingos de Ramos*] to Easter Sunday [*Pascoa*]); for instance, even before musical celebration had resumed at court, in 1752, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reports that the queen's birthday "could not be celebrated on the 31st of March, on which day she celebrated 35 years, and was celebrated instead yesterday [April 3, the Monday after Easter]."<sup>14</sup> Since Holy Week in 1752 fell that year between March 26 and April 2, it appears that the queen had to wait until Easter Monday (which began the *Primeira oitava*, or first week after Easter) to hold the hand-kissing ceremony. In other years, the queen's birthday fell precisely on Easter Monday, as in 1755, when Holy Week occurred from March 23 to March 30. In that year, the queen's birthday marked a momentous musical occasion—the opening of the Ópera do Tejo with Perez's *Alessandro nell'Indie*, already mentioned above.

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<sup>13</sup> The tradition of operatic performance at Salvaterra is also discussed in Brito, *Opera in Portugal*.

<sup>14</sup> *Gazeta de Lisboa*, Num. 14. April 4, 1752, 271. "O aniversario do nascimento da Rainha nossa Senhora, que se nam pode festejar no dia 31 de Março, em que cumpriu 35 anos, se festejou tambem hontem. Toda a corte beijou a mã a mesma Augustissima Senhora, e os Ministros estrangeiros a cumprimentaram, assegurando dezejar-lhe a vida mais dilatada."

Given the inconsistency of the productions and details regarding the post-earthquake productions through the early 1770s, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the ideology behind the selection and content of productions in the Lenten seasons. Nonetheless, it appears that the frequent yet shifting overlap of the court ceremonial and religious calendars at least occasionally played a role in determining musical production. When such productions could not be accommodated due to Holy Week, celebrations were apparently delayed until Easter Monday. Occasionally, however, the oratorio also became a solution to the conflicted overlap of royal and religious celebration. A list of the dates of Lenten seasons in the period of 1750–1777 placed alongside documented musical productions reveals the complicated relationship between court ceremony, musical performance, and religious appropriateness (Table 3.2).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In the table, the dates of Lent are followed by the date and title of the work performed (where available; otherwise, genre label from existing documentation is provided). Where known, I also list librettist/composer and the place of performance. For non-musical sources (financial records, printed journals, etc.), I have included the appropriate reference. For serenatas, operas, and other secular musical productions, I have included only general source references and more specific sources, where useful; for oratorios (in boldface), I have included more detailed sources. Most of the secular sources are cited in more detail in Brito's chronology in *Opera in Portugal*.

**Table 3.2: Dates of Holy Week with documented dramatic musical performances within or in very close proximity, especially March 19 and 31, 1750–1777**

Year	Dates of Holy Week	Dramatic Musical Performance(s) at Court
1751	April 4–11	<p>March 19: Hand-kissing ceremony only Location: Paço da Ribeira<sup>16</sup> Source(s): <i>Gazeta de Lisboa</i> (GL)</p> <p>March 31: Hand-kissing ceremony only Location: Paço da Ribeira Source(s): GL</p>
1752	March 26–April 2	<p>March 19: N/A</p> <p>March 31: Royal gala (no music reported) Location: Paço da Ribeira Source(s): GL</p>
1753	April 15–April 22	<p>March 19: "Serenata" Librettist/Composer: Anonymous Location: Paço da Ribeira (queen's chambers) Source(s): GL</p> <p>March 31: <i>L'Olimpiade</i> (dramma per musica) Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/David Perez Location: Paço da Ribeira (king's chambers) Source(s): GL, various manuscript and printed sources<sup>17</sup></p>
1754	April 7–14	<p>March 19: N/A</p> <p>March 31: <i>L'Ipermestra</i> (dramma per musica) Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/David Perez Location: Paço da Ribeira, Teatro do Forte Source(s): GL, various manuscript and printed sources</p>
1755	March 23–30	<p>March 19: "Serenata" Librettist/Composer: Anonymous</p>

<sup>16</sup> The Paço da Ribeira, the court's palace, was located in the center of Lisbon until its destruction in 1755; thereafter, the court moves to a new palace outside Lisbon in the Ajuda neighborhood. Post-earthquake sources occasionally note the new performance location as the "Teatro da Ajuda" though it is not entirely clear whether this theater was located in the new palace or outside of it. The scholarship on this theater and the new palace structure is discussed below.

<sup>17</sup> For these sources (and similar indications below), see Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, chronology.

		Location: Paço da Ribeira Sources: <i>GL</i>  March 31: <i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i> (dramma per musica) Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Perez Location: Ópera do Tejo Sources: <i>GL</i> , various manuscript and printed sources
All productions cease from approximately November 1755 and appear to resume around Carnival 1763. The printing of <i>Gazeta da Lisboa</i> was also suspended from 1761 to 1778, resulting in loss of that publication as a documentary source. P-Lant court sources (financial records, etc.) vary in consistency through 1777.		
1763	March 27–April 3	March 19: N/A  <b>March 31: <i>L'Isacco, figura del Redentore</i> (Oratorio)</b> <b>Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Luciano Xavier dos Santos</b> <b>Location: "Real Teatro da Corte"</b> <sup>18</sup> <b>Source(s): P-La (manuscript score); I-Rsc (libretto)</b>
1764	April 15–22	N/A
1765	March 31–April 7	N/A
1766	March 22–30	March 19: N/A  March 31: <i>L'incognita perseguitata</i> (drama giocoso) Librettist/Composer: Giuseppe Petrosellini/Niccolò Piccini Location: Teatro da Ajuda Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources
1767	April 12–19	N/A
1768	March 27–April 3	March 19: N/A  March 31: <i>Solimano</i> (dramma per musica) Librettist/Composer: Anonymous/Perez Location: Teatro da Ajuda Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources *12 performances given through June 6 (king's birthday)
1769	March 19–March 26	<b>March 19: "Oratorio da Paixão" (Passion Oratorio)</b> <b>Librettist/Composer: N/A</b> <b>Location: Palácio da Ajuda</b> <sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Marques, *Cronologia*, 101. This performance and its location are discussed in detail below.

		<p><b>Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3502 (financial records)</b></p> <p>March 31: <i>L'amore industrioso</i> (dramma per musica)  Librettist/Composer: Anonymous/João de Sousa Carvalho  Location: Teatro da Ajuda  Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources  *10 performances given through December</p>
1770	April 8–15	<p>March 19 and 31: "Serenata"  Librettist/Composer: Anonymous  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100  The same work was apparently repeated on both days; no indication of whether the work was sacred or secular in nature.</p>
1771	March 24–31	<p>March 19: N/A</p> <p>March 31: <i>Semiramide</i> (dramma per musica)  Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Niccolò Jommelli  Location: Teatro da Ajuda  Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources</p>
1772	April 12–19	<p><b>March 19: "Serenata, ou Oratoria" (serenata or oratorio)<sup>20</sup></b>  <b>Librettist/Composer: N/A</b>  <b>Location: Palácio da Ajuda</b>  <b>Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100</b></p> <p>March 31: <i>Pastorella ilustre</i> (serenata)  Librettist/Composer: N/A  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100</p>
1773	April 4–11	<p>March 19: <i>Imeneo in Atenas</i>  Librettist/Composer: N/A  Location: N/A  Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources</p>

<sup>19</sup> Performance location given in P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3502 (unnumbered papers).

<sup>20</sup> Throughout the P-Lant sources, the work is referred to as either "serenata ou oratoria" or more simply, "oratoria." While it seems clear that "serenata" was occasionally used as a general term for musical performances of either a secular or sacred sort, there is little evidence that the use of the term "oratoria" signified anything other than a sacred musical drama.

		March 31: <i>Cerere placatea</i> (festa teatrale) Librettist/Composer: Anon./Niccolò Jommelli Location: N/A Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources
1774	March 27–April 3	N/A
1775	April 9–16	March 19: N/A  March 31: <i>Li napoletani in America</i> (dramma giocoso) Librettist/Composer: Francesco Cerlone/ Niccolò Piccini Location: Teatro da Ajuda Source(s): various manuscript and printed sources
1776	March 31–April 7	No musical performances (José I died in February)

In the period between the earthquake and Maria I's acclamation in 1777, the oratorio appears infrequently and haphazardly, only occasionally exhibiting the possible concern of court patrons for religious propriety. The terms of this propriety, moreover, are difficult to determine. Given the growing emphasis on secular operatic productions even in close proximity to Holy Week before the earthquake, the appearance of an oratorio in 1763—the first year that court musical productions resume after the earthquake—is curious. Aside from religious concerns, the choice could have been practical—displaced from the ruined central palace, the Paço da Ribeira, and short-lived opera house, the Ópera do Tejo, the court lacked the facilities to stage elaborate dramatic spectacle at court. Thus, having journeyed for the Carnival season in 1763 to Salvaterra, where two *dramme giocosi* were performed at the court theater there, the return to Lisbon left few options for Lenten spectacle at court, whatever the timing with Holy Week. Since the earthquake, the royal family had taken up residence in the Ajuda (Belém) neighborhood (where they had journeyed the day of the earthquake, escaping certain destruction). The new royal residence sat at a considerable distance outside Lisbon's city



center, and it was constructed largely of wood to resist further seismic activity, high on a hill above the Tagus River. The *Real Barraca*, as it was called, was destroyed by fire in 1794, but an existing drawing of the floor plan reveals a "Caza da Musica" that would have suited small performances such as serenatas or oratorios.<sup>21</sup> Research suggests that by the early 1760s a court theater was in place in the Ajuda, the "Teatro da Ajuda," where subsequent theatrical performances of a grander scale took place.<sup>22</sup>

The 1763 celebrations remain complicated by a lack of definitive evidence of a performance (typically printed libretti or financial records). An existing manuscript score, however, suggests the production of Luciano Xavier dos Santos's *L'Isacco, figura del Redentore*.<sup>23</sup> The manuscript clearly identifies the year (1763) and dedicatee (Queen Mariana Vitória) on its title page. In 1874 Marques identified the work as being performed in the "Real Teatro da Corte" in 1763; without further documentary evidence Brito later labeled the performance "doubtful."<sup>24</sup> However, given that the queen's birthday that year fell within Holy Week (see Table 3.2), an oratorio such as *L'Isacco* might have served as appropriate musical ceremony; in previous years, the queen likely would have delayed celebration until Easter Monday, but without a significant venue in which to stage an elaborate drama, the delay would perhaps have been futile.

The work is nonetheless significant in dimensions and quality by any mid-eighteenth-century Italian oratorio standard and could have served needs of the queen's

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<sup>21</sup> Pedro Gomes Januário, "Giovanni Carlo Sicinio Galli Bibena: Teatro Real da Ajuda," *ARTiTEXTOS* 5 (December 2007): 37–51. The drawing is held at P-Ln (Iconografia, D. 28R.).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> P-La, 48-III-5/6.

<sup>24</sup> Marques, *Cronologia*, 101; Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 173.

ceremonial gala. Following Metastasio's two-part libretto structure, the work unfolds as a three-part instrumental overture followed by an alternation of recitative (*secco* and *accompagnato*) and *dal segno* arias. Four soloists comprise Isacco (S), Gamari (S), Angelo (S), and Abramo (T), in addition to an SATB chorus of servants and shepherds to close the work.<sup>25</sup> The musical setting, furthermore, calls for extensive *obbligato* writing for strings, winds (oboe), and brass (*trombe lunghe, corni da caccia*), the last of which could have been provided by the Charamela Real (royal brass ensemble).<sup>26</sup>

Whatever the status of the 1763 oratorio performance, in 1769 court financial records explicitly confirm the performance of a Passion Oratorio at court for the king's name day. Contained within an account of "Alugueres Extraordinarios" (Other [Non-typical] Rentals), two receipts for the cost of carriages to transport musicians to and from a rehearsal (March 18) and performance (March 19) confirm the oratorio production.<sup>27</sup>

The receipts, which neglect to name the work or its composer, begin, respectively:

Document 1:

*S. Mag<sup>de</sup> he Servido, que os Musicos abaixo declarados achem amanhã Sabado em que Se contaó 18 do Corrente pelas Quatro horas da tarde no Teatro da Ajuda p<sup>a</sup> a Prova do Oratorio p<sup>a</sup> o que se hiraó as Seges na forma costumada.*

*Palacio de Nossa Snr<sup>a</sup> da Ajuda Em 17 de Março de 1769*

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<sup>25</sup> The manuscript score does not indicate whether soloists also sang the choruses, which are only marked by vocal part (SATB). At the very least, the SATB setting suggests that other soloists would have been necessary for the alto and bass lines. The Royal Chapel's performance forces (used for liturgical and other dramatic performances) could easily have filled the parts for the choruses of servants and shepherds, whether solo or multiple voices comprised the performance forces. See Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra" for more on court performances forces in this period.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3502 (unnumbered papers).

His Majesty has ordered that the Musicians declared below should appear tomorrow, Saturday, which is the 18 of the current month, at 4:00 in the afternoon in the Teatro da Ajuda for the Rehearsal of the Oratorio, for which will be provided the Carriages in the customary fashion.

Palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, March 17, 1769

Document 2:

*S. Mag<sup>de</sup> he Servido, que os Musicos abaixo declarados Se achem amanhã Domingo, em que Se contaó 19 do Corrente pelas Quatro horas da tarde no Palacio da Ajuda p.<sup>a</sup> a Oratorio da Paixão, para o que se hiraó as Seges na forma costumada.*

*Palacio de Nossa Snr<sup>a</sup> da Ajuda Em 18 de Março de 1769*

His Majesty has ordered that the Musicians declared below should appear tomorrow, Sunday, which is the 19 of the current month, at 4:00 in the afternoon in the Palácio da Ajuda for the Passion Oratorio, for which will be provided the Carriages in the customary fashion.

Palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, March 18, 1769

Following the opening statement, various musicians, singers, and sometimes composers and copyists are listed, usually, in pairs, accompanied by a cost in reis per pair (presumably for the carriage to transport them) to the left. The receipts allow some knowledge of the cost of the performances, but they also provide valuable information regarding the instrumental and vocal forces for a given performance—nearly all of the individual singers and musicians have been identified.<sup>28</sup> Taken together, the musicians and various persons listed on the receipts for the 1769 Passion Oratorio indicate a performance of moderate proportions including winds and brass, and the four vocalists

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<sup>28</sup> Foremost in this scholarship is Joseph Scherpereel's *A orquestra e os instrumentistas da Real Câmara de Lisboa de 1764 a 1834: documentos inéditos* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985).

suggest that the work was a setting of Metastasio's *Passion* libretto, which had already made an appearance in the Portuguese capital earlier in the century:<sup>29</sup>

*Violin* (Violin)

André Marra  
 Estanislau Borges  
 João Valentim Felner  
 Henrique Joze Felner  
 Joze Mazza  
 Gonçalo Auzier Romero  
 Saverio Todi  
 Jeronimo Groneman

*Viola* (Viola)

Antonio Bento da Costa

*Violoncello* (Cello)

João Baptista Biancardi  
 André Sampieri

*Contrabaixo* (Bass)

Federico Herffort  
 Miguel Jordão

*Flauta* (Flute)

Antonio Rodil<sup>30</sup>

*Oboé* (Oboe)

Francisco Xavier Bomtempo

*Fagote* (Bassoon)

Nicolau Heredia

*Clarin* (Trumpet)

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<sup>29</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, Schiassi wrote a setting of Metastasio's *Passion* for performance in Lisbon, as he noted in a letter to Padre Martini. The court's David Perez had set Metastasio's *Passion* in 1742, and Niccolò Jommelli's setting would become popular at court in later decades, though there is no evidence to suggest a composer for this performance. Since no composer is listed in receipts (and composers often accompanied rehearsals and performances of their works at the court, as will be shown below, it seems likely that the composer was foreign and/or not in residence at the court).

<sup>30</sup> Rodil also played oboe, but he was more commonly associated with flute.

João Pedro Maneschi [?]<sup>31</sup>

*Trompa* (Horn)  
André Lenzi

*Cravo* (Keyboard)  
Mathias Bostem

*Cantores* (Vocalists)  
João Baptista Vasquez (S)  
José Rampino (S)  
Carlos Reina (S)  
Taddeo Puzzi (B)

In the rehearsal receipt, Antonio Bernardo [de Almeida] (a copyist) and an unknown João Lorenço are also included among the musicians listed above. Taken together, the rehearsal and the performance—costing 10\$400 reis each in carriages for each day—totaled 20\$800 reis for transportation alone. In subsequent years, additional receipts indicate further expenses, such as the cost of producing the musical parts and printed libretti, as well as the cost of refreshments for the musicians at each rehearsal (discussed below); for 1769, only the transportation costs remain.

Financial records attest to the performance of an oratorio of similar proportion and organization on the king's name day again in 1772.<sup>32</sup> Though the receipts still neglected to include the name of the work, two receipts similarly named the performers, rehearsal and performance dates (March 14 and 19, respectively), and cost of carriage rentals. Again, both the rehearsal and performance cost 10\$400 reis each in carriage transportation, and the instrumentation and size of the performing ensemble was nearly

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<sup>31</sup> Fernandes suggests that Maneschi played clarin, though is perhaps called "Marevichi" in other P-Lant documents ("O sistema productivo da música sacra," 331.

<sup>32</sup> P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100 (unnumbered papers).

the same as in 1769, though some of the performers had changed in the three years

that had passed:

*Violin* (Violin)

André Marra

Estanislau Borges

João Valentim Felner

Henrique Joze Felner

Joze Mazza

Gonçalo Auzier Romero

Jeronimo Groneman

Fernando Luis Pink

*Viola* (Viola)

Antonio Bento da Costa

*Violoncello* (Cello)

João Baptista Biancardi

André Sampieri

*Contrabaixo* (Bass)

Federico Herffort

Miguel Jordão

*Flauta* (Flute)

Antonio Rodil

*Oboé* (Oboe)

Francisco Xavier Bomtempo

*Fagote* (Bassoon)

Nicolau Heredia

Juan Baupista Plà

*Clarin* (Trumpet)

João Pedro Maneschi [?]

*Trompa* (Horn)

André Lenzi

*Cravo* (Keyboard)

Mathias Bostem

*Cantores (Vocalists)*

João Baptista Vasquez [Battistino] (S)

José Rampino (S)

Carlos Reina (S)

João Rippa (S)

Luiz Torriani (T)

Taddeo Puzzi (B)

*Copyist*[?] Joze Marques

Both Brito and Yordanova, following Marques, have posited that this performance was the oratorio *Adamo ed Eva* by Portuguese court composer Pedro António Avondano.<sup>33</sup> Though the music is apparently lost, Avondano's anonymous libretto printed in 1772—the document that has presumably linked the work to this 1772 court performance—does not name a performance location or provide any details regarding the performers or context of the work.<sup>34</sup> The same libretto was reprinted in 1773 with no additional performance indications.<sup>35</sup> Yordanova has suggested that in both years the work was performed at the Palácio da Ajuda, in 1772 for the king's name day on March 19 and in 1773 on an unspecified date. Documented performances of secular dramatic works took place on the king's name day and queen's birthday in 1773 (see above), and there is no evidence to suggest that oratorios would have been performed at other times of the year at court. The performance receipts for 1772, moreover, suggest a larger work—six vocalists, as opposed to the four required for *Adamo ed Eva*, and there is no chorus in the work to necessitate vocal reinforcement. It is not impossible, however, that the castrati Reina and Battistino—who are listed separately in the receipt from the

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<sup>33</sup> Marques, *Cronologia*, 113; Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 145; Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal," 45–46.

<sup>34</sup> A printed libretto from 1772 is held in the Carvalhaes collection of I-Rsc.

<sup>35</sup> P-Cug, Misc. 566, n.º 9501.

other four singers—sang additional arias.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, Avondano's works are known in other circumstances to have been performed in the public concerts that the composer organized for Lisbon's cosmopolitan community of "estrangeiros" (foreigners), as I will discuss in Chapter 4. Other authors have suggested additional performances of oratorio at court in the years around 1770, though such performances remain doubtful by my account.<sup>37</sup> In any case, many performances in this period remain shrouded in an impenetrable layer of mystery.

The fact that oratorio performance was at least an occasional phenomenon at court in this period remains a valid and important consideration with regard to Portuguese court musical ceremony. Just as often as oratorio seems to take the place of otherwise secular performances due to a conspicuous overlap with Holy Week, however, ostensibly secular performances hold their ground: the 1768 and 1771 performances of *Solimano* and *Semiramide*, respectively, complicate any overarching theory about music and religious propriety. Nonetheless, as a highly problematic subject fraught with religious

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<sup>36</sup> Such was apparently the case in 1783. Financial records from that year (P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124 [unnumbered papers]) note that in addition to the copying of parts for the oratorio on March 19, a duet and three arias were copied for Carlos Reina. As the *primo uomo* at the court, Reina might have supplemented the work with performances between acts or in place of some parts of the oratorio—perhaps the duet was to be performed with Battistino.

<sup>37</sup> Marques further documents the performance of *Il voto di Jefte* (libretto by Jeronimo Tonioli; music by Avondano) in 1771, which Yordanova adopts. However, given that performances for *Semiramide* were already in place by March 16 and continued through March 31, an oratorio performance on March 19 seems unlikely. Moreover extensive financial records exist for the period of March 1772, which document the costs of *Semiramide* but lack any indications of an oratorio performance (P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100), See Marques, *Cronologia*, 112; Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal, 53.



underpinnings, the performance of *Semiramide* on Easter Sunday in 1771 could have perhaps served as a clever comprise for Queen Mariana Vitória.<sup>38</sup>

Though the oratorio made an occasional appearance in Lenten performances through the reign of José I, a lack of consistent record keeping likely contributes to an underrepresentation of actual performances. Yet the few existing sources from 1750 to 1777 provide crucial details regarding the size and scope of the known oratorio rehearsals and performances. These performances, of course, paled in comparison to operatic performances; court musical bills regularly totaled 40:000\$000–50:000\$00 reis each year, with the meager oratorio transportation receipts constituting only a very small fraction of that cost.<sup>39</sup> Musical drama was a necessary part of court ceremony, especially for events as important as the king's name day and queen's birthday, but real expense was reserved for more obvious spectacle. That is, until Maria took over.

*Gender Anxiety and Religious Propriety: Image and Representation in Oratorio Performance during the Reign of Maria I*

Within the year following her ascent to the throne in 1777, Maria I implemented an extensive standardization of court financial records, including those for the monarchy's musical establishments. From the moment that court ceremony resumes

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<sup>38</sup> On the complicated subject of *Semiramide*, see Wendy Heller's article "The Queen as King: Refashioning *Semiramide* for *Seicento* Venice," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, no. 2 (1993), 93–114; and her chapter "Semiramide and Musical Transvestism," in *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 220–262.

<sup>39</sup> Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 52–53.

following the period of bereavement for José I, court financial records note in meticulous detail the content and cost of musical performances across yearly ceremonial cycles. Supplemented by extensive existing correspondence and printed almanacs of court ceremony, over the following fifteen years the consistency and detail of these documents allows a picture of court musical life not possible through the reign of Maria's father. Within the broader cycles of court musical life, the regular production of oratorio in the period under Maria I emerges in clear view. Moreover, extensive documentation allows new analyses of existing works. When positioned in the broader context of oratorio production in Portugal across the eighteenth century, these works suggest the queen's engagement with oratorio production in many ways served her own self-fashioning.

Preserved in court almanacs from 1782, yearly schedules of court *Dias de Gala* (gala days) attest to the role and importance of this sort of ceremony throughout the year as well as that cycle's dependence on the religious calendar. Because the Portuguese court maintained a strict level of privacy, court galas allowed both the demonstration of court power and an interaction with the highest nobility and diplomatic body in public.<sup>40</sup> On gala days, the Portuguese court palace was richly decorated and the royal family appeared in their finest dress. At the ceremony, the nobility and ministers of the court were invited

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<sup>40</sup> Fernandes examines court gala in detail and has argued convincingly that in this period the ceremonial cycles of the Portuguese court moved fluidly between sacred and secular spheres since the separation between these two spheres was not yet well defined. This seems especially true in terms of sacred and liturgical musical ceremony, which often underscored court celebration throughout the year. Despite its liminal position between sacred and secular, the oratorio seems only to have intervened, at least in the post-earthquake period, during Lent, when dramatic musical entertainment was needed for court gala. See Fernandes, "O sistema productivo da música sacra," 414–415.

to kiss the hands of the king and queen (*beija-mão*), and the entire diplomatic body gave a formal presentation of greetings to the royal family. Depending on the occasion, musical productions often followed the ceremony, as in previous reigns. As shown in Figure 3.1, in March and April 1782 the court celebrated both the name days of the heir, Prince José (March 19) and his wife, Princess Maria Benedita (March 21), as well as the sequence of Holy Week (Palm Sunday, March 24; Maundy Thursday, March 28; Good Friday, March 29; Easter Sunday, March 31; Easter Monday, April 1).

**Figure 3.1: Schedule of Court Ceremony, March and April 1782<sup>41</sup>**

*LEMBRAÇA DOS DIAS DE GALA e de Beija-mão publico: e dos em que a Corte costuma presentemente ser avisada para assistir, ou acompanhar a S. Magestade.* (Reminder of the Gala Days and Public Hand-Kissing; and, at present, those days on which the Court is advised to attend, or accompany, her Majesty.)

**MARÇO.**

19 Dia do Nome de S. A. R. o Serenissimo Principe do Brasil. *Gala.*  
 21 Dia do Nome de S. A. R. a Serenissima Princeza do Brasil. *Gala.*  
 24 Domingo de Ramos. *Assistencia da Corte a S. M. na Capella Real, de manhã.*  
 28 Quinta feira de Endoenças. *Assistencia da Corte a S. Magestade de manhã na Capella, e ao Lava pés. Tanto neste como nos mais dias da Semana Santa veste-se a Corte de preto.*  
 29 Sexta feira de Paixão. *Assistencia da Corte a S. M. na Capella, de manhã.*  
 31 Dia de Pascoa. *Gala.*

**ABRIL.**

1 Primeira Oitava da Pascoa. *Gala, e Beija-mão.*

**MARCH**

19 Name day of his Highness, the Prince of Brazil (José). *Gala.*  
 21 Name day of her Highness, the Princess of Brazil (Maria Benedita). *Gala.*  
 24 Palm Sunday. *Court Attendance in the Royal Chapel of Her Majesty, in the morning.*

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<sup>41</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa para o anno de 1782* (Lisbon: Officina Patriarchal, 1782), 126–127.

28 Maundy Thursday. *Court Attendance in the Royal Chapel of Her Majesty, in the morning, and to the footwashing. As on other days during Holy Week, the Court dresses in black.*

29 Good Friday. *Court Attendance in the Royal Chapel of Her Majesty, in the morning.*

31 Easter. *Gala.*

#### APRIL

1 First octave [eight days] of Easter. *Gala, and Hand-kissing ceremony.*

In the following year, the court celebrated the exact same sequence of events (adjusting the complex of Easter celebrations according to the calendar).<sup>42</sup> After the hand-kissing and gala for Easter Monday (the first such ceremony of the year, usually), that highest level of court ceremony occurred exclusively on the anniversary of Maria I's acclamation (May 13), the name day and birthday of Pedro III (June 29 and July 5, respectively), the birthdays of the prince heir José (August 21) and his princess Maria Benedita (July 25), the birthday of the queen's sister Mariana Francisca (October 7), the birthday of the queen's eldest daughter princess Mariana Victoria (December 15), Maria I's name and birthdays (December 17 and 18, respectively), and the Monday after Christmas (December 26). With each event, musical productions at court accompanied the festivities.

Aside from the obvious celebration of the king and queen, typical of previous reigns, the celebration of the royal heirs under Maria I achieved new precedence in this scheme. Prior to 1777, there is little indication that Maria I (as princess) or her husband Pedro (the king's brother) received consistent, or even occasional, musical productions as

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<sup>42</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa para o anno MDCCLXXXIII* (Lisbon: Officina Patriarchal, 1783), 212–213.

part of their name or birthday ceremony. Rather, at the court of José I, the operatic seasons of Carnival (January/February) at Salvaterra took precedence, as did the later spring and season of operatic productions, discussed above. Beginning in Maria I's reign, however, the court's new systematization of musical productions centers more strongly on upholding a central faction of court figures through large-scale musical events. At Maria I's court, this central faction included, especially, the court's heirs and several of the queen's closest relatives—her sisters, and her daughter, the last of whom she was actively working to marry to a Spanish prince. Interestingly, the queen's only other child—her second son João—did not receive the *beija-mão* ceremony on his birthday or name day until 1789 (after the death of his elder brother). From that point, João assumed the role of prince heir, and he and his princess, Carlota Joaquina of Spain, became the focus of newly heightened ceremony.

From 1777 to 1788 at least, Maria I consistently implemented oratorio productions as a reasonable solution to court gala during Lent, particularly for the necessary (but not solemnly religious) royal name day celebrations of Prince José and his wife Maria Benedita, as well as the queen mother Mariana Vitória's ongoing birthday productions through her death in 1781. Yet the exact nature of those musical productions depended on several factors, some of which only unfolded over time. Drawing on financial records and existing scores and libretti, Table 3.3 compiles a chronology of the documented Lenten (and immediately post-Lenten) musical performances from 1777 to 1791. This chronology exposes both a consistency in productions immediately from 1778 and also a shift in focus after the queen mother's death in 1781. It appears that Maria I

strictly imposed religious musical productions—at least in the sense of oratorio as opposed to serenata or opera—from 1778. The queen mother's birthday in 1778, for instance, was celebrated with an oratorio, even though it took place on March 31, two weeks before Holy Week; in subsequent years, the celebration was held off completely until after Easter, at which point a secular production was performed.

**Table 3.3: Dates of Holy Week with documented dramatic musical performances within or in very close proximity, especially March 19, 21, and 31, 1777–1792<sup>43</sup>**

Year	Dates of Holy Week	Court Musical Productions from Lent to end of Holy Week <sup>44</sup>
1777: No court ceremony; mourning for José I through early 1778.		
1778	April 14–19	<p>March 19: "Chamber music" Location: Palácio da Ajuda Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3107, Lv. 503, Lv. 504<sup>45</sup></p> <p>March 21: "Chamber music" Location: Palácio da Ajuda Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3107, Lv. 503, Lv. 504</p> <p><b>March 31: <i>Gioas, Rè di Giuda</i></b> Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/António da</p>

<sup>43</sup> This table follows the same basic format as Table 3.2. For oratorios (in boldface), I have included the most important sources. See Appendix 1 for further information.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix 1 for full transcriptions of title pages and other relevant details.

<sup>45</sup> The P-Lant sources in this table are all financial records, which range in detail from a single receipt to entire folders of documents. When all documents exist, the financial records in this period are spread across a meticulous system of checks and balances. In this scheme, the boxes (Cx.) contain loose papers organized by months, which consist of detailed receipts for each musical performance—carriage rentals, cost of refreshments, individual receipts for work (such as copying of a musical part), etc. The books (Lv.) are shorter, summarized accounts of the same costs found in the boxed documents (whereas, for instance, receipts in the Cx. sources will document each carriage rental, the Lv. sources will only give the total cost of all the carriage rentals in sum). Many of these documents are cited and discussed in more detail below.

		Silva [Gomes e Oliveira] Location: Palácio de Queluz <sup>46</sup> Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3107, Lv. 503, Lv. 504; P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn (libretti); P-La (manuscript score, two copies)
1779	March 28–April 4	<p>March 19: "Chamber music" Location: Palácio da Ajuda Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3111, Lv. 504, Lv. 505</p> <p>March 21: "Chamber music" Location: Palácio da Ajuda Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3111, Lv. 504, Lv. 505</p> <p>*April 5: <i>Gli orti esperidi</i> (serenata, for Queen Mother's birthday, which fell after Holy Week) Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Jeronimo Francisco de Lima Location: Palácio da Ajuda Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3112, Lv. 504, Lv. 505; Br-Rn (libretto); P-La (manuscript score)</p>
1780	March 19–26	<b>March 19: <i>Oratória da Paixão</i></b> Librettist/Composer: [Metastasio/Niccolò Jommelli?] <sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> It is not exactly clear why this production took place at the Palácio de Queluz. The palace in Queluz, outside Lisbon, was a secondary royal palace and a frequent summer home to the court of Maria I. The renovation and establishment of this palace became a major project of her king Pedro III. Other sources have listed this performance location as the Palácio da Ajuda (Brito, for instance), either considering it a mistake or not noticing it. Yet, across all the financial records (P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3107), the performance location is listed as the Palace in Queluz, which could certainly have accommodated an oratorio performance in its "Sala da Serenata" (a room used for moderately sized musical performances, such as serenatas).

<sup>47</sup> P-Lant receipts for the Passion Oratorio and Miserere performed on March 19 and 21 in this year lack any mention of composer or librettist. A *Miserere* by Jommelli remains preserved in P-EVp (CLI/22-8 n.º 4), however, which resembles an oratorio in musical style. The libretto, moreover, functions as a poetic paraphrase of the *Miserere* text by the Neapolitan Saverio Mattei. See David Cranmer, "Os fundos musicais," in *Tesouros da Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, coord. João Ruas (Lisboa: Medialivros, 2005), 109. Benevides noted a performance of the work at the Teatro de São Carlos in 1799 (see

		<p>Location: [Palácio da Ajuda] ("no Paço")  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 505<sup>48</sup></p> <p><b>March 21: "Miserere"</b>  Librettist/Composer: [Saverio Mattei/Niccolò Jommelli?]  Location: [Palácio da Ajuda] ("no Paço")  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 505; P-EVp (manuscript score)</p> <p>March 31: <i>L'isola disabitata</i> (serenata)  Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Jommelli  Location: [Palácio da Ajuda] ("no Paço")  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 505; P-Ln, EVp (libretti); P-La (manuscript score)</p>
1781	April 8–15	No musical performances; death of Mariana Vitória
1782	March 24–31	<p><b>March 19: <i>Gioas, Rè di Giuda</i> ("repetição"; repeat)<sup>49</sup></b>  Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/António da Silva [Gomes e Oliveira]  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 506<sup>50</sup></p>

Chapter 4), though he lists the librettist as Giuseppe Caravita. Jommelli's Passion setting would be performed at the court in 1790, and financial documents suggest that the work was a repeat performance—as will be discussed below, repeated works were given only a single rehearsal in this period, and no copying or printing of music and libretti appears to have been necessary. It seems possible that the performances for March 19, 21, and 31 in this year were all settings by Jommelli, who, as is well known, dealt extensively with the court in Lisbon from the 1750s to the 1770s. Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 39–45. See also Marita McClymonds, *Niccolo Jommelli: The Last Years, 1769–1774* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980).

<sup>48</sup> The detailed financial records (Cx.) for January–June 1780 could not be located in the archive's holdings; the short, summary financial records found in Lv. 504 and Lv. 505 provide overall costs but neglect to provide indications of composer or title of the work.

<sup>49</sup> Financial records describe works as "repetição" (repeat) when the court, apparently, already possessed the work in hard copy and had performed it in recent years. It seems that no new libretti were printed for subsequent performances.

<sup>50</sup> Like the records for early 1780, the detailed financial records (Cx.) for January–June 1782 could not be located.



		<p>March 21: Stabat Mater  Composer: Joseph Haydn  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 506</p>
1783	April 13–20	<p><b>March 19: <i>Il Passione di Gesù Christo Signor Nostro</i></b>  Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Luciano Xavier dos Santos  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124, Lv. 507, Lv. 508; P-Cul, P-EVp (libretti); P-La (manuscript score)</p> <p><b>March 21: <i>Salome, madre de sette martiri maccabei</i></b>  Librettist/Composer: Gaetano Martinelli/João Cordeiro da Silva  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124, Lv. 507, Lv. 508; BR-Rn, I-Rsc (libretti); P-La (manuscript score)</p>
1784	April 4–11	<p><b>March 19: <i>Il ritorno di Tobia</i></b>  Librettist/Composer: Giovanni Gastone Boccherini/Franz Joseph Haydn  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3131, Lv. 507, Lv. 508; BR-Rn, P-Lac, P-Ln, P-EVp (libretti)</p> <p><b>March 21: <i>Gioas, Rè di Giuda (repeat)</i></b>  Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Silva [Gomes e Oliveira]  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx 3131, Lv. 507, Lv. 508</p>
1785	March 20–27	<p><b>March 19: <i>Il trionfo di Davidde</i></b>  Librettist/Composer: Gaetano Martinelli/Braz Francisco de Lima  Location: Palácio da Ajuda  Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3137, Lv. 508, Lv. 509; BR-Rn, P-Cul, I-Rsc, US-Wc (libretti); P-La (manuscript score)</p>

		<p>March 21: <b><i>Salome (repeat)</i></b>          Librettist/Composer: Martinelli/Cordeiro da Silva          Location: Palácio da Ajuda          Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3137, Lv. 508, Lv. 509</p>
1786	April 9–16	<p>March 19: <b><i>Ester</i></b>          Librettist/Composer: Gaetano Martinelli/António Leal Moreira          Location: Palácio da Ajuda          Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3143, Lv. 508, Lv. 509; BR-Rn, I-Rsc, P-EVP, P-Lac (libretti); P-La (manuscript score)</p> <p>March 21: <b><i>Il trionfo di Davidde (repeat)</i></b>          Librettist/Composer: Martinelli/Lima          Location: Palácio da Ajuda          Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3143, Lv. 508, Lv. 509</p>
1787	April 1–8	No musical performances; death of Pedro III
1788	March 16–23	N/A <sup>51</sup>
1789	April 5–12	No musical performances; death of José
1790	March 28–April 4	<p><b>March 21: Oratoria da Paixão (Passion)</b>          Librettist/Composer: Metastasio/Jommelli          Location:          Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3156, Lv. 511</p>
1791	April 17–24	<p>March 21: <b><i>Ester (repeat)</i></b>          Librettist/Composer: Martinelli/Moreira          Location: Palácio da Ajuda          Source(s): P-Lan, Casa Real, Cx. 3160, Lv. 511</p>

From Table 3.3 a clearer picture emerges of the growing importance of oratorio as a court genre through 1786, as well as the system of oratorio production that evolved over those years. Whereas the years through 1782 betray a relative flexibility in musical selections

<sup>51</sup> No P-Lan records exist and no libretti or manuscripts scores have been located for this year.

(chamber music, oratorio, liturgical settings), 1783 reveals the beginning of a new trend. Recalling the letter from Queen Maria I requesting new oratorios from Rome in 1782 mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the queen seems to have noted the lack of appropriate works at the court at that point.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the death of the queen mother served as an impetus in this new need; with no large musical performances on March 31 (which often cost 200\$000 to 300\$000), March 19 and 21 immediately absorbed those newly freed financial resources. Moreover, where as March 31 sometimes fell after Easter, the new dates of focus in mid-March occurred consistently during Lent and sometimes Holy Week. Thus, with no appropriate musical works at court—and with a disappointing selection sent from Rome in 1782—Maria I appears to have pursued new commissions from within the Portuguese court establishment.

In the years that followed, the oratorios produced on March 19 and 21 at the Portuguese court included four new works by Portuguese composers (three of which featured new dramas by court poet Gaetano Martinelli): Santos's Passion oratorio (1783; libretto by Metastasio), Cordeiro da Silva and Martinelli's *Salome* (1783), Lima and Martinelli's *Il trionfo di Davide* (1785), and Moreira and Martinelli's *Ester* (1786).<sup>53</sup> Despite their varied musical authors, the four works are striking in their consistency of

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<sup>52</sup> See Introduction to this dissertation.

<sup>53</sup> On Martinelli's work at the court, see Paulo Mugayar Kühl, "Os libretos de Gaetano Martinelli e a ópera de corte em Portugal (1769–1795)" (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1998). None of these works have been published or performed since the late eighteenth century. My comments and analyses here are derived from the manuscript musical scores and printed libretti.

form and style, as shown in Table 3.4 below.<sup>54</sup> Clearly aligning the works with contemporary Italian styles, each of four oratorios utilizes a two-part structure, four or five characters (three soprano roles and varied alto/tenor/bass parts), and an orchestra of obbligato instrumental parts over basso continuo—strings (violin, viola, and occasionally cello), woodwinds (oboe and bassoon, as well as occasional flute parts), and brass (various types of *corni* and *trombe*). Each work opens with an instrumental overture, which typically unfolds in three sections (fast-slow-fast) or in a single allegro section.

**Table 3.4: Vocal and instrumental settings in newly-composed Portuguese court oratorios (1783, 1785, 1786)**

1783 ( <i>Passione</i> )	1783 ( <i>Salome</i> )	1785 ( <i>Davidde</i> )	1786 ( <i>Ester</i> )
<b>Characterizations, Performers, and Vocal Setting</b>			
Vocal Setting: SSST	SSSAT	SSSTB	SSSAT
<i>Pietro</i> Carlos Reina [S]	<i>Salome</i> Reina [S]	<i>Davidde</i> Reina [S]	<i>Assuero</i> Reina [S]
<i>Maddalena</i> Giovanni Ripa [S]	<i>Giacobbe</i> Ripa [S]	<i>Gionata</i> Ripa [S]	<i>Ester</i> Ripa [S]
<i>Giovanni</i> Fedele Venturi [S]	<i>Simone</i> Venturi [S]	<i>Eliabo</i> Vicente Marini [S]	<i>Harbona/Athach</i> Marini [S]
	<i>Matatia</i> Ansano Ferracuti [A]		<i>Mardocheo</i> Ferracuti [A]
<i>Giuseppe</i> Luigi Torriani [T]	<i>Antioco</i> Torriani [T]	<i>Saule</i> Torriani [T]	<i>Aman</i> Torriani [T]
		<i>Goliath</i> Taddeo Puzzi [B]	
<b>Orchestration (number of obbligato parts)</b>			
Violin (2)	Violin (2)	Violin (2)	Violin (2)
Viola (2)	Viola (2)	Viola (2)	Viola (2)
	Violoncello (1)		
	Flute (2)	Flute (2)	Flute (2)
Oboe (2)	Oboe (2)	Oboe (2)	Oboe (2)
Bassoon (2)	Bassoon (2)	Bassoon (2)	Bassoon (2)

<sup>54</sup> See Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3:1–198 ("The Italian Oratorio"); and Johnson, *Roman Oratorio, 1770–1800*.

Trombe/Corni (various)	Trombe/Corni (various)	Trombe/Corni (various)	Trombe/Corni (various)
Basso continuo	Basso continuo	Basso continuo	Basso continuo

The drama in each oratorio unfolds in the strict alternation of recitatives (both secco and accompanied) and arias (largely *dal segno* or *da capo* structure with contrasting A and B sections, and frequent coloratura passagework), though the end of each part often features a duet or ensemble closing number. Viewed across these four works, it is clear that Carlos Reina and Giovanni Ripa—two of the court's premiere castrati—performed the main roles, whether male or female, young or old; other soprano roles also included young and noble figures and were fulfilled exclusively by castrati, including Fedele Venturi and Vicente Marini.<sup>55</sup> Across these works, Ansano Ferracuti contributed the alto parts (often wise, male roles such as religious advisers), Luigi Torriani fulfilled the tenor roles (tyrants and otherwise malicious figures in the dramas), and Taddeo Puzzi provided the bass role in 1785's *Il trionfo di Davidde* as the giant Goliath.

Most often, the closing ensembles draw together the four or five soloists in the work (in other words, each character is given a labeled line on the score), but in some cases the works are marked only by the indication "Coro." It seems that in most cases these "coro" sections were performed by the soloists—in 1783's *Salome*, for instance, the final number in Part Two is a "Coro d'Israeliti" (Chorus of Israelites), though the setting

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<sup>55</sup> This practice is consistent with castrati performing roles in Italy and elsewhere. See Roger Freitas's "Sex Without Sex: An Erotic Image of the Castrato Singer," in *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, ed. Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 203–215, and his "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003): 169–249.

includes only SAT vocal parts (suggesting that the exclusively SAT soloists in the work sang the chorus also). It is important to note, however, that in other instances score markings suggest perhaps a larger chorus. In the 1778 manuscript of *Gioas*, for instance, the chorus that concludes the work is marked SATB (matching the vocal setting of the work [SSSATB]), but soli lines alternate with sections marked "tutti" in the score. As shown in Figure 3.2, the alternation of marked soli duet lines for the two court castrati Carlos Reina and Giovanni Ripa with "tutti" sections either suggests that the tutti included only the additional voice of Giuseppe Orti (the third soprano in the work) or perhaps indicates a larger section of sopranos. More simply, the "tutti" could indicate the entrance of the lower vocal parts. The final chorus of 1784's *Salome* also includes ambiguous markings of "solo" and "soli" that could indicate the alternation of the work's main soloists with larger choral forces.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Joshua Rifkin has famously taken up this exact issue in relation to Bach's choral works. See his *Bach's Choral Ideal* (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 2002), as well as similar discussions in Andrew Parrott's *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000). To my knowledge, no one has yet broached the subject in regard to Portuguese vocal dramatic music. Later in the century larger choral forces are clearly documented in Portuguese theatrical productions. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, for instance, an oratorio production at the Real Teatro São Carlos explicitly indicates the performance of sixteen chorus members in addition to the four vocal soloists. Nonetheless, the circumstances of this latter performance are considerably different from those presented here.



gran Dio!" though neither text appears in the Portuguese printed libretto.<sup>57</sup> Structured in two parts of alternating recitative and aria solo numbers (leading to final ensembles), the work clearly matches the size and length of the Portuguese works. However, it is unclear how the original orchestration (which possibly numbered more than 180 performers in its first performance) was translated to the Portuguese context, which rarely included more than thirty performers.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the work included parts for several instruments never featured in Portuguese oratorio compositions, such as English horn and timpani.

In drawing these works into the Portuguese cycle of court gala, the system of oratorio production that evolved was simple: each year, a new oratorio celebrated the day of S. José (March 19), while a repeated work celebrated the subsequent day of S. Bento (March 21), just three days later. As shown in Table 3.5, yearly costs for the two celebrations thus totaled between 400\$000–600\$000 reis each year. These costs roughly equaled the total costs spread between musical productions on March 19, 21, and 31 from 1778 to 1780. At the beginning of this process, 1783 stands out as a particularly abundant year, with two new oratorios by Portuguese court composers, for which the total costs soared above 600\$000. In the years that followed, however, the court scaled back the second performance (March 21) with a repeated work; subsequent years proceeded according to this system, though the productions for March 19, the heir's name day, became more lavish each year, rising in cost by nearly 100\$000.

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<sup>57</sup> Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3:160–181.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:161, 166.



**Table 3.5: Total costs of court performances for March 19, 21, and 31 (1778–1791)**

Year	Date	Title/Genre	Cost (in reis); breakdowns discussed below and in Appendix 1
1778	March 19	Chamber music	9\$600
	March 21	Chamber music	8\$800
	<b>March 31</b>	<b><i>Gioas, Re di Giuda</i> (oratorio)</b>	<b>352\$815</b>
1779	March 19	Chamber music	8\$800
	March 21	Chamber music	96\$000 (Hired instrumentalist [Rabeca] for performance)
	April 5	<i>Gli orti esperidi</i> (serenata)	313\$530
1780	<b>March 19</b>	<b>Oratória da Paixão (Passion oratorio)</b>	<b>155\$540</b>
	March 21	Miserere	118\$620
	March 31	<i>Isola desabitata</i> (serenata)	243\$085
1781: No performances			
1782	<b>March 19</b>	<b><i>Gioas, Rè di Giuda</i> (repeat)</b>	<b>192\$000</b>
	March 21	<i>Stabat Mater</i> by Haydn	144\$740
1783	<b>March 19</b>	<b><i>La Passione di Gesù Christo</i> (Passion oratorio)</b>	<b>299\$540</b>
	<b>March 21</b>	<b><i>Salome</i> (oratorio)</b>	<b>345\$285</b>
1784	<b>March 19</b>	<b><i>Il ritorno di Tobia</i> (oratorio)</b>	<b>260\$070</b>
	<b>March 21</b>	<b><i>Gioas, Rè di Giuda</i> (repeat)</b>	<b>196\$600</b>
1785	<b>March 19</b>	<b><i>Il trionfo di Davide</i> (oratorio)</b>	<b>377\$630</b>
	<b>March 21</b>	<b><i>Salome</i> (repeat)</b>	<b>168\$380</b>
1786	<b>March 19</b>	<b><i>Ester</i> (oratorio)</b>	<b>392\$600</b>
	<b>March 21</b>	<b><i>Il trionfo di Davide</i> (repeat)</b>	<b>172\$280</b>
1787–1789: No performances recorded			
1790	<b>March 21</b>	<b>Oratória da Paixão (Passion oratorio)</b>	<b>144\$470</b>
1791	<b>March 21</b>	<b><i>Ester</i> (repeat)</b>	<b>173\$360</b>

Looking more closely at the existing receipts, it becomes clear what factors drove the costs of these performances upward from 1783 to 1786. Table 3.6 categorizes the typical costs of the performances for March 19 across the four years:

**Table 3.6: Breakdown of total costs for newly-composed Portuguese court oratorios (1783, 1785, 1786)**

<b>Cost/Year<sup>59</sup></b>	<b>1783 (<i>Passione</i>)</b>	<b>1783 (<i>Salome</i>)</b>	<b>1785 (<i>Davidde</i>)</b>	<b>1786 (<i>Ester</i>)</b>
Carriage rentals (for two rehearsals and a performance)	40\$800	37\$600	39\$200	42\$400
Copying of music (including cost of paper, labor, etc.)	33\$900	36\$720	42\$510	51\$290
Printing and binding of libretti	20\$160	32\$550	28\$980	32\$750
Refreshments for musicians at two rehearsals	5\$280	2\$800	2\$940	2\$160
Composition	96\$000 (new)	None	96\$000 (new)	96\$000 (new)
Libretto	6\$400 (copy only)	6\$400 (copy only)	48\$000 (new)	48\$000 (new)
Payment for singers (24\$000/each)	96\$000 (4 singers)	144\$000 (5 singers and same pay for accompanist)	120\$000 (5 singers)	120\$000 (5 singers)
<b>Total</b>	<b>299\$540</b>	<b>260\$070</b>	<b>377\$630</b>	<b>392\$600</b>

Drawing on the detailed existing receipts, several factors are notable within this schema. First, given that some of the works were newly composed, or likely had never been performed before at court, the performances now required two rehearsals instead of a single rehearsal. Repeated works on March 21 continued to require only a single rehearsal. With an extra rehearsal came added costs: carriages to accommodate travel to

<sup>59</sup> The documents containing these records (all unnumbered papers) can be found in P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124 (1783), Cx. 3131 (1784), Cx. 3137 (1785), and Cx. 3143 (1786).

each of the three events (two rehearsals and performance) and, importantly, refreshments for each rehearsal (usually coffee and tea with regular and refined sugar, and bitter lemons, in addition to the cost of the server). Furthermore, an increasing number of individuals were required at the rehearsals and performance of new works. Instrumental forces grew slightly in this period, since previous years had utilized no more than twenty instrumentalists. In 1783, the instrumental ensemble consisted of thirty individuals (an expanded violin section of twelve and six brass players are notable additions), while in the subsequent three years, twenty-four musicians performed the works—thirteen strings (eight violins, two violas, two cellos, one contrabass), six woodwinds (two flute, two oboe, two bassoon), four brass (horns/trumpets), and a keyboardist. Moreover, when the works under rehearsal were new or in their first performance, the composer, librettist, and usually one or more copyists would now attend the rehearsals as well (and thus required a carriage rental, so their names are counted in those receipts). The number of vocalists matched previous tradition (four or five vocalists, typically), though several receipts suggest that more vocalists performed than indicated in the libretto or scores. A receipt from 1783, for instance, indicates that in addition to the copying of the *Passion Oratorio*, a separate duet and three arias were copied for Carlos Reina—the court's *primo uomo* castrato since midcentury—possibly to be added to the *Passion oratorio*, or performed between acts.<sup>60</sup>

The creation and performance of new works also brought further financial requirements in the production of new printed libretti and manuscript musical scores and

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<sup>60</sup> P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124.

parts. Portuguese court composers who provided the music for the March 19 oratorios received a payment of 96\$000, while court librettist Gaetano Martinelli received 48\$000 each for the three new dramas that he provided in this period. The copying of the new music often involved a concerted effort, whether for a newly composed or existing work. In 1784, for instance, the court employed seven named persons (including court copyists and some of the orchestra) "and others" to copy the score and parts of Haydn's *Il ritorno di Tobia*. Indicating the enormous size of the audiences at such events, receipts indicate that court printer Miguel Manescal and binder Joaquim Joze da Veiga provided 313 libretti for the March 19 performance in 1783, 407 libretti in 1784, 403 libretti in 1785, and 401 libretti in 1786. In each year, seven to ten of the libretti were specially printed and bound on finer paper for a higher price.

### *Legitimizing Display: Court Oratorio as Power*

From this brief analysis, it is clear that oratorio increased in importance at the Portuguese court from 1783. Had a series of royal deaths not disrupted royal ceremony from 1786, it seems likely that such performances would have gained further status across subsequent years. Several questions remain, however: why did Maria I seem to have insisted on the performance of sacred dramatic music during Lent, when even her father's reign seems only occasionally to have done so? Furthermore, why did the court consistently patronize performances for the name days of the prince heir and his princess? Had Maria I followed the model of previous reigns, musical productions at

court would have remained focused on the king and queen's name and birthdays—none of which coincided with Lent.

In analyzing more closely the content of the new oratorios within the broader system of court musical ceremony that evolved under Maria I, it seems that the oratorios functioned as one part of a cyclical legitimizing display perhaps necessitated by an anxiety over the ascent of a queen regnant.<sup>61</sup> Never before had a female heir ascended to the Portuguese throne as the reigning sovereign, but as the eldest of José I's four daughters, Maria I held the only legitimate claim. In order to quell some of this anxiety, Maria I was married to her uncle, the king's brother, Pedro, in order to secure the royal line. Whereas in previous reigns the Portuguese court had intermarried its princes and princesses to counterparts in politically valuable ally courts, especially the Spanish court (José I, of course, was married to the Spanish Mariana Vitória), beginning with the reign of Maria I marriage within the Portuguese court served to solidify royal lines against a crisis of succession should death eliminate the legitimate heir(s). Thus, just days before José I's death in 1777, Maria I's heir, the crown prince José, was married at age fifteen to his thirty-year-old aunt Maria Benedita—Maria I's sister. The series of incestuous arrangements ultimately fell short of the desired goal: the prince José and Maria Benedita failed to produce a child in their eleven years of marriage, suffering two miscarriages in 1781 and 1786, respectively. For awhile, though, the marriage of the heir to the throne within the Portuguese court meant that Maria I's court was uncharacteristically close in family ties—Maria I, Pedro III, prince José, and Maria Benedita were all related by

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<sup>61</sup> For discussion of Maria's ascent, the anxiety over her gender, and the process of marriages described here, see Boléo, *D. Maria I*.

various levels of heredity. Pedro III, as Maria's uncle and husband, was both José's father and great uncle; Maria Benedita, as Pedro's niece and Maria's sister, was José's aunt and wife. Thus, Maria I was not only José's mother but also his aunt, as well. With such measures taken to ensure the security of the royal line, it is perhaps unsurprising that Maria I set about fashioning a small universe at court in which these figures—as the court's central ruling faction—symbolized both the current and future stability of the monarchy.

Maria I's ability to demonstrate the longevity of the court thus served to bolster her own ongoing claim to power. This self-fashioning required the symbolic representation of the heir (and his future court) as virtually equal to the current power structure. In part, this legitimization seems to have come from the amplification of court musical ceremony surrounding the heir and his future queen—the oratorios from March 19 and 21 would have served as part of this process. Nonetheless, the elevation of the specifically *female* image of power crucial to Maria I's legitimacy as queen regnant, even before her reign ended, required that the representational content of all court productions took on an air distinctly different from that of previous reigns. As will be shown below, while the image of the king remains foregrounded in Portuguese court musical ceremony—serving to amplify the images of the king consort Pedro III and the prince heir José—Maria's court considerably amplified the representation of female power across the yearly cycles, as well. In part, this was due to the now regular concentration on the queen's celebrations, such as her birthday and name day celebrations on December 17

and 18, respectively, but such themes also extended beyond the queen's works to include other productions across the year, including the oratorios.

In regard to the oratorios produced during the reign of Maria I, several are rather inconspicuous—settings of the Passion, for instance, remain popular across the century. Furthermore, oratorios for March 19 based on emblematic male figures, such as young kings and royal heirs, as in *Gioas, Rè di Giuda* or *Il trionfo di Davidde*, or pious and dutiful sons, as in Haydn's *Il ritorno di Tobia*, seem to work to underscore the namesake of the celebrations, prince José. Yet two works stand out against these more expected subjects—João Cordeiro da Silva's *Salome, madre dei sette Maccabei* (1783) and António Leal Moreira's *Ester* (1786), both with newly composed libretti by court poet Gaetano Martinelli. The former was premiered uncharacteristically on the name day of Maria Benedita (whose name day was thereafter celebrated by repeat performances of works written previously for prince José), and the work set the story of the mother of the seven Maccabean martyrs, who watched each of her sons die for their faith in turn. The focus of the work has been interpreted as a symbolic tribute to Maria Benedita, though this interpretation is curious since the princess lacked offspring of her own.<sup>62</sup> Moreira's *Ester*, based on the intervention of the heroine Queen Esther at the court of Ahasuerus to save the Jewish people of her realm, proves more complicated, except as a broadly educational tale of courtly power.

These two works complicate any generalized understanding of the oratorios for March 19 and 21 as straightforward dedicatory productions in honor of the heir and

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<sup>62</sup> Kühl, "Os libretos de Gaetano Martinelli, 128–129. Perhaps the work meant to underscore the princess's desire for children.

princess. Rather, they betray, I believe, the strong hand of the queen in determining the representational content of the oratorios at her court. To this end, it is useful to revisit, again, the correspondence between Maria I's director of theaters and the Portuguese ambassador in Rome in 1782.<sup>63</sup> Upon closer inspection, the list suggests the queen's interest in producing works based on female subjects, despite her knowledge that the works would be performed not for *her* but for the prince's name day ceremony during Lent. Those works to be sent included:

*Giuseppe riconosciuto* - Anfossi  
*Salomone, Ré d'Israele* - Casali  
*S. Elena al calvario* - Anfossi  
*Pastorale a 4 voci* - Casali  
*L'Ester musica* - Sacchini  
*L' Abigaille* - Digna  
*Il trionfo di Mardoccheo* - Borgho  
*Gionata* - Digna

Those works not selected included:

*La passione di Gesù Christo* - Melinesch  
*La passione di Gesù Christo* - Jommelli  
*Morte d' Abele* - Piccini  
*Gioas* - Sacchini  
*La benedizione di Jacobbe* - Casali  
*L'adorazione de' Maggi per l'Epifania* - Casali  
*S. Filippo Neri musica* - Sacchini  
*L'Isaco* - Melinesch  
*Cantata a due voci per S. Filippo Neri* - Casali  
*Cantata a due voci per L'assunta musica* - Casali  
*La Betulia* - Anfossi

Of the eight works selected by the queen for trial at the court, three apparently feature powerful female figures—S. Elena, Abigail, and Esther—and a fourth, *Il trionfo di*

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<sup>63</sup> See Introduction to this dissertation.



*Mardocheo*, would also have treated the more typical subject of Esther. Of the works not selected, only Anfossi's *La Betulia* appears to have focused strongly on a female subject (Judith). Recalling that the queen and court found all the sent works lacking in some regard, it is furthermore striking that the queen went on, nonetheless, to commission two such works on such female subjects in the years that followed; indeed, it suggests that perhaps the queen was searching for particular representations.

### *Female Court Patronage and the Emblem of Queen Esther*

Of course, it is largely unclear the extent to which Maria I oversaw the creation and content of the newly commissioned oratorios at court. Nonetheless, her hand seems clear in the correspondence cited above, and her interest in self-representation would align with the well-documented maneuvers of other women in positions of political power who employed musical patronage in their goals of self-fashioning.<sup>64</sup> Kelley

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<sup>64</sup> In this section, I draw particularly on the model of Kelley Harness's *Echoes of Women's Voices*, which clearly demonstrates the process of identifying patterns of symbolism and meaning in the productions of female political patrons in early modern Europe. The study of female patronage is today extensive, but the field remains based on the model also of foundational studies of Italian female patronage by William Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as Patrons of Music: The Frottola at Mantua and Ferrara," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985), 1–33, as well as his "Renaissance Women as Patrons of Music: The North-Italian Courts," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberly Marshall (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 186–205. A number of subsequent studies have filled out particular facets of the larger concern of female patronage in music by women in positions of power in early modern Europe by providing studies of singular female patrons, including Jeanice Brooks's "Catherine de Médicis, *nouvelle Artémise*: Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief," *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (August 1999), 419–435; and John A. Rice's *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge, New York:

Harness's *Echoes of Women's Voices* provides a comprehensive and intricate study of the ways that politically powerful women—in her case, those at the Medici court in seventeenth-century Florence—patronized music as part of a larger strategy of monarchical power. Within this larger strategy, Harness demonstrates that women in positions of power often utilized religious heroines and emblematic women of the bible in artistic productions to project their female patrons as women whose power and authority derived, ultimately, from God. At the seventeenth-century Medici court, therefore, the Archduchess Maria Magdalena oversaw the production of various virgin martyr spectacles (Saint Agatha and Saint Ursula, for instance) and court poet Andrea Salvadori's *La Giuditta*.<sup>65</sup> Harness explains that Salvadori, at the time of the Archduchess's death, "not only eulogized Maria Magdalena as an exemplary mother, wife and sister but as a brave, pious, and wise ruler."<sup>66</sup>

In Portugal, Maria I was similarly heralded as a particularly pious ruler, adopting the royal epithet "A Piedosa" (The Pious) throughout her reign.<sup>67</sup> Even at her acclamation in 1777, widely distributed publications seem to have positioned the queen's inheritance of the Portuguese throne as an act of divine intervention. A published account of the acclamation celebrations, which were organized by the city's Senado da Camara (Senate), elaborated: "Divine Providence destined the most August Queen D. MARIA I, our Lady,

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Cambridge University Press, 2003). The subject of female musical and artistic patronage has yet to be explored in detail in the context of the Spanish or Portuguese courts, though my discussion here suggests that queens such as Maria I took part in similar work as those Italian patrons already well studied.

<sup>65</sup> On the image of Judith, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation and Harness's Chapter 4.

<sup>66</sup> Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 40.

<sup>67</sup> That is, until her mental deterioration altered this epithet to "A Louca" (The Mad) from 1792.

Sovereign so loved for her Christian, moral, and political virtues, to govern the Lusitanian Empire in the four parts of the World."<sup>68</sup> A brief survey of the musical productions for the queen's birthday celebrations on December 17 each year suggests that the queen sought to render this image of her religious, moral, and political virtues in specifically feminine dramatic representation (Table 3.7).

**Table 3.7: Dramatic musical productions for Maria I's birthday gala (December 17), 1777–1791**

Year	Title	Composer	Librettist
1777	<i>La Pace fra la Virtù</i>	David Perez	Anonymous
1778	<i>Il Ritorno di Ulisse in Itaca</i>	David Perez	M. Martelli
1779	<i>Per l'Augustissima...</i>	Marcello Bernardini	Luigi Godard
1780	<i>Edalide e Cambise</i>	João Cordeiro da Silva	Anonymous
1781	<i>Enea in Tracia</i>	Jerónimo Francisco de Lima	Gaetano Martinelli
1782	<i>Penelope</i>	João de Sousa Carvalho	Gaetano Martinelli
1783	<i>Tomiri</i>	João de Sousa Carvalho	Gaetano Martinelli
1784	<i>Esione</i>	Luciano Xavier dos Santos	Gaetano Martinelli
1785	<i>Nettuno ed Egle</i>	João de Sousa Carvalho	Anonymous
1787	<i>Artemisia, Regina di Caria</i>	António Leal Moreira	Gaetano Martinelli
1789	<i>Lindane e Dalmiro</i>	João Cordeiro da Silva	Gaetano Martinelli
1790	<i>Axur, Re di Ormus</i>	Antonio Salieri	Lorenzo da Ponte
1791	<i>Attalo, Re di Bitinia</i>	Ferdinando Robuschi	Antonio Salvi

This table of productions reveals that the court of Maria I patronized new works—many by the same court composers and librettist as the oratorios discussed above—on a wide variety of female characters, including the historical and mythological queens Penelope

<sup>68</sup> "Destinou a Divina Providencia para governar o Luso Imperio nas quatro partes do Mundo a Augustissima Rainha D. MARIA I. Nossa Senhora, Soberana taõ [sic] amavel pelas suas virtudes christaãs [sic], moraes, e politicas." *Applauso Festivo dedicado à feliz aclamação da Rainha Didelissima D. Maria I Nossa Senhora pelo Senado da Câmara da cidade de Lisboa e relação individual da festividade de três dias de combate de touros, com exacta descrição da Praça, Entradas, Danças, Carros, e todo o sucedido neste festejo*. Por J.J.M. de M. (Lisbon: Officina de Francisco Borges de Souza, 1778), 4.

(1778, 1782), Tomyris (1783), and Artemisia (1786), and the princesses Edalide (1780) and Esione (1784).

The representations of the three queens are particularly striking, because together they demonstrate the consistent representation of queens as both politically powerful but also moralizing female figures (mothers, wives, daughters). In the serenata *Penelope* (1782), for instance, the work recounts the mythological marriage of Queen Penelope to Ulysses, king of Ithaca.<sup>69</sup> In this version, the libretto dramatizes the emotional distress of Queen Penelope, torn between her loyalties to her father and her new husband, treating in turn the queen's virtuous dedication to the sources of her power. As a new composition by Sousa Carvalho and Martinelli, the work's opening *argomento* clearly positions the queen (Penelope, and by association, Maria I) as the central figure in the 1782 work. In an earlier production of the same dramatic subject (*Il ritorno di Ulisses in Itaca*, which focuses less on the development of the queen, Penelope), Maria I apparently proposed the addition of the character Minerva. A note appended to the libretto makes the connection clear and underscores the role of the queen as patron: "As the present production serves to celebrate the glorious birthday of our Most Noble Queen D. Maria I, so by the command of Her Majesty has been added to this drama the character of Minerva, whom always occupied the adventures of Ulysses."<sup>70</sup> Descending with a machinery of clouds at the end of the work, Minerva praised the noble heritage of Lusitanian heroes and

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<sup>69</sup> See P-Ln, M. 1045 P. (printed libretto).

<sup>70</sup> "Dovendo servire la presente rappresentazione per festeggiare il glorioso giorno natalizio della nostra Augustissima Regina Donna MARIA I., così per comando della detta Maestà Sua si è aggiunto a questo componimento il Personaggio di Minerva, il quale si occupò sempre nelle avventure di Ulisse..." P-Ln, 1034 P.

monarchs to the arrival of "a Heroine, an August Maria / Magnanimous, Benevolent, Illustrious, and Pious."<sup>71</sup> Perhaps additions such as these eventually led to the virtual takeover of court dramas by Gaetano Martinelli, who could shape the work to the queen's image more fully. At the very least, the writer and composers understood the allegorical value of the characters at hand. In 1787, Martinelli and António Leal Moreira's *Artemisia, Regina di Caria* explained the connection of the work to the representation of the queen in the printed libretto: "The heroism of Artemisia is the principal action of the Drama, an allegorical argument to celebrate the glorious day of Our August Queen Maria I's birth."<sup>72</sup> Though work's opening *argomento* clearly identifies the story as that of Artemisia I of Caria, who demonstrated her heroism as a Persian naval commander, Artemisia II of Caria remains a more well-known figure—the devout widow of Mausolus, whose grief at his death caused her to drink his ashes and construct an immense monument in his honor. Given the king's recent death, perhaps both images would have resonated in the overlapping images of Artemisia and Maria I.

The oratorios on Salome and Esther fall precisely within the central period above and were the products of the same librettist, Martinelli, and Portuguese court composers. Yet the two works accomplish vastly different portrayals of female power—one, a mother's steadfast love; the other, the heroic intervention of a queen. Nonetheless, each oratorio couches that expression in religious terms and in relation to the upholding of

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<sup>71</sup> "un Eroina, / Un' Augusta MARIA / MAGNANIMA, CLEMENTE, INCLITA, e PIA." Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> "O heroísmo da Artemisia está a acção principal do Drama, um argumento allegórico para celebrar o glorioso dia do nascimento da Nossa Augusta Rainha Maria I." BR-Rn, Música, A-XV, A786 (libretto). A manuscript score is held at P-Ln, C.N. 168/169.

male-dominated structures of power. Whatever the meaning of these works, the expense put forth, as described above, suggests that the selection of subject was not random or made without thought. In what follows, I take *Ester* as a case study, exemplifying how the work seems to function as a discreet statement of Maria I's power that nonetheless works, ultimately, to uphold the foundational male-dominated structures of the king (and heir).

Considering Martinelli and Moreira's *Ester*, written for and performed on March 19, 1786, the musical depiction of a queen seems an unlikely choice for the prince heir's name day—as opposed to, for instance, the easy sense made of a story like *Il trionfo di Davide*. As described in the book of Esther, the Jewish queen (whose religious identity remains concealed throughout much of the account) heroically risks her own life by defying proper submission at the court of her husband, King Ahasuerus, to save the Jewish people in the realm from persecution.<sup>73</sup> Raised by her cousin Mordecai, Esther enters the court as one of Ahasuerus's wives and gains his immediate favor for her beauty, although, as advised by Mordecai, she does not reveal her religious identity. When Haman, one of the king's advisers, notices that Mordecai—as a Jew—does not properly bow to the king, he devises a plan to persecute Jews in the realm. Learning this, Esther boldly enters the king's inner court against her privilege and invites him to a banquet, where she later reveals Haman's plot. Deeply favoring Esther, King Ahasuerus condemns Haman to hang on the gallows that the traitor had prepared for Mordecai, and

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<sup>73</sup> For a comprehensive account and study of the biblical book of Esther, see Carey A. Moore, *Esther* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971).

Esther is heralded as a protector of the Jewish people—a narrative commemorated today in the Jewish celebration of Purim.

The question thus becomes: why commission a new work on the story of Queen Esther to be performed for the prince's name day at all? The work, unfortunately, lacks the overt statement of allegory found above in *Artemisia, Regina di Caria*. Moreover, as observed by Kühl in his study of Martinelli's libretti for the Portuguese court, the figure of Queen Esther (Ester), however, only appears to play a moderate role in the work, while the narrative focus and the most arias go to Mordecai (Mardocheo).<sup>74</sup> As shown in Table 3.8, Mordecai performs three arias—at the beginning and end of the first act and in the middle of the second act; Esther, Ahasuerus (Assuero), and Haman (Aman) each perform two arias over the course of the work, while Harbona (confidant of Ahasuerus, added to the drama) performs only one in the beginning of the second act.<sup>75</sup>

**Table 3.8: *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), structural outline<sup>76</sup>**

**Part One**

No.	Style	Characters	First line	Key	Meter
1	Introduzione			Eb	C (Allegro con spirito)
2a	Coro		<i>O eterno Dio d'Abramo</i>	Eb	3/4 (Largo)
2b	Recitative (secco)	Mardocheo	<i>Ah qual scempio crudel</i>		
2c	Recitative (acc.)	Mardocheo	<i>Ma quanto ancor</i>	Eb	C (Largo)

<sup>74</sup> Kühl, "Os libretos de Gaetano Martinelli," 128.

<sup>75</sup> The character Athach, the principle eunuch of the Queen Esther, also appears in the work. As indicated in the libretto, Vincenzo Marini (soprano) sang both the parts of Harbona and Athach.

<sup>76</sup> I thank Nicholas McNair for sharing his research and transcriptions of *Ester* with me.

2c	Coro		<i>O Gran Dio pietà di noi</i>	Eb	3/4 (Largo)
2d	Recitative (secco)	Atach, Mardocheo	<i>Solo un istante</i>		
2e	Coro		<i>È ver, fu a te infedele</i>	Eb	3/4 (Largo)
3	Recitative (acc.)	Mardocheo	<i>Tu che il mio cor</i>	C	C (Allegro)
4	Aria	Mardocheo	<i>In te confida e spera</i>	F	C (Allegro maestoso)
5	Recitative (secco)	Aman, Harbona, Assuero	<i>Qual Eroe della Persia</i>		
6	Aria	Aman	<i>Della virtude amico</i>	G	2/2 (Poco allegro)
7a	Recitative (secco)	Assuero, Harbona, "then Ester accompanied by two servants"	<i>Qual dolce incanto</i>		
7b	Recitative (acc.)	Assuero, Ester, Harbona	<i>L'ira e lo sdegno mio</i>	g	C
7c	Recitative (secco)	Ester, Assuero	<i>Generoso signor</i>		
8	Aria	Assuero	<i>Quali affetti</i>	C	2/4 (Cantabile)
9	Recitative (acc.)	Ester	<i>Dal più grave periglio</i>		
10	Aria	Ester	<i>Dal eterno seren</i>	A	2/2 (Andante)
11a	Recitative (secco)	Harbona, Mardocheo	<i>Inevitabil sempre</i>		
11b	Recitative (acc.)	Mardocheo	<i>Empio idolatra</i>	Eb	(Largo)
12	Aria	Mardocheo	<i>Ah gelar mi sento</i>	Eb	C (Allegro)

### Part Two:

No.	Style	Characters	First line	Key	Meter
13a	Recitative (secco)	Assuero, Harbona, Aman	<i>Per tuo cenno, signor</i>		
13b	Recitative (acc.)	Aman	<i>Che intesi, aimè</i>		Andante moderato
14	Aria	Aman	<i>Odio del giorno i rai</i>	D	C (Allegro con



					spirito)
15	Recitative (acc.)	Harbona	<i>Già in alto della reggia</i>	D	C (Allegro)
16	Aria	Harbona	<i>Nella sorte più serena</i>	G	C (Allegro)
17a	Recitative (secco)	Mardocheo, Harbona	<i>Oh sapienza infinita</i>		
17b	Recitative (acc.)	Mardocheo	<i>Del popol d'Isdrael</i>	Bb	C (Larghetto ma poco)
18	Aria	Mardocheo	<i>Fra tanti severi molesti</i>	d	2/2 (Andante agitato)
19a	Recitative (secco)	Assuero, Ester, Aman	<i>Ester, a te deggio</i>		
19b	Recitative (acc.)	Ester, Assuero, Aman	<i>Sì: ne più fier nemico</i>		
20	Aria	Assuero	<i>Perfido!</i>	Bb	C (Allegro)
21	Recitative (secco)	Ester, Aman, Assuero, Harbona	<i>Oh troppo acerba</i>		
22	Aria	Ester	<i>Di gioia e di contento</i>	F	C (Allegro)
23	Recitative (secco)	Harbona, Mardocheo, detti	<i>Che rechi Arbona</i>		
24	Coro	All	<i>Lodi a te gran Dio</i>	D	3/4 (Allegro non molto)

In the work, Esther only figures prominently in two scenes (shaded in the table above): near the end of the first act, she approaches her husband King Ahasuerus and requests his presence at a banquet (in which she will reveal herself as a Jew and ask the pardon of her people); near the end of the second act, she appears at said banquet, reveals herself as Jewish, and condemns Haman for his plot against the Jews. In both cases, Esther appears in recitatives leading to an aria by Ahasuerus, then proceeds with a recitative leading to her own aria.

The paired expressions by Ahasuerus and Esther near the end of each movement intertwine the actions of the two characters, whereby Ahasuerus's actions (both emotional

and musical) transform the musical action of the queen. When Esther enters the king's chambers to request his presence at the banquet in the first act, her accompanied recitative reveals her as deeply fearful and nervous about the task at hand (Figure 3.3). Her spirit sinks, quite literally, by half steps as the king questions her intentions, and she stutters, "I come only . . . Oh God!" (*Io vengo meno...Oh Dio!*) as palpitations in the string mark her nervousness.

**Figure 3.3:** *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), recitative (No. 10). P-La, 48-II-18 (Vol. 1), fol. 52v.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from a 18th-century manuscript. It features several staves. The top staff is for Violini (Violins), followed by Viols (Violas). Below these are the vocal parts for Ahasuerus and Ester. Ahasuerus's part includes the lyrics "L'ira, e lo sdegno mio comi si". Ester's part includes the lyrics "Io vengo meno... Oh Dio!..". The tempo is marked "Largo" at the bottom. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "poco" and "Largo".

By the end of the same recitative, Ahasuerus—who has met Esther's nervous accompanied recitative with his calm syllabic interjections and serene (almost secco)

accompaniment—has calmed Esther to the point that she willfully enters into the less agitated world of a secco recitative (Figure 3.4). There, she adopts Ahasuerus's patient and convincing tone, as she him requests his presence at her banquet:

**Figure 3.4:** *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), recitative (No. 10). P-La, 48-II-18 (Vol. 1), fol. 55r–55v.

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*Col:*  
 mio, La parte a te maggior ceder vogl'io. Generoso si=  
 guor; tanto non chiedo; nè d'ambizion si pasce il mio Libero  
 con: Sol bramo, e imploro, che ti degni, ognun Re, nel dì futuro



Ahasuerus's subsequent aria—a scintillating C-major duple cantabile—erases Esther's fear, as he sings of his growing love for the beautiful queen accompanied by *trombe lunghe* (characteristic of the king's scoring), flutes, and strings. Thus reassured, Esther's subsequent recitative and aria provide confident expressions of faithful deliverance from danger. The aria remains firmly rooted in A major, scored by strings only, and the text carefully contemplates the rewards of the religiously steadfast in a tuneful vocal line without coloratura.

In the second act, having revealed her identity and Haman's plot, the subsequent arias of Ahasuerus and Esther similarly complement one another. The king's rage at Haman's plot provokes his calls of "Perfido!" at the beginning of the aria, after which he delivers—without melodic frill or ornament—his indignation for Haman in a stolid and unaffected vocal line. Whereas in Part One, love for Esther filled Ahasuerus's breast

("Quali affetti in un istante sento acrescermi nel seno!" [What affection I feel growing in my breast this instant!]), here rage pervades it ("Ah qual furore sento destarmi in petto" [Oh, what rage I feel aroused in my chest]), creating a clever textual parallel between the two arias. Whereas in his first aria, however, love seemingly allowed Ahasuerus to trail off into melismatic lines, here his rage is funneled completely and firmly into action against Haman—the music moves forcefully and syllabically, emphasizing each note (Compare Figures 3.5a and 3.5b).

**Figure 3.5a:** *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), vocal line in Ahasuerus's aria (No. 8). P-La, 48-II-18 (Vol. 1), fol. 58r–59r (detail).



Figure 3.5b: *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), vocal line in Ahasuerus's aria (No. 20). P-La, 48-II-19 (Vol. 2), fol. 49r–50r (detail).



Again, the presence of *trombe lunghe* underscores Ahasuerus's power (both, apparently, political and musical). In the ensuing recitative, Esther's original fear is nowhere to be found—it is Esther who dismisses Haman and refuses him pity, calling out his own fear. Her subsequent aria—the final solo movement in the work—is a glittering allegro da capo aria of joy and contentment, conveyed in a fully orchestrated (obligato flute, bassoon, and *corni* with winds), which trades scalar and melismatic material with the vocal line (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: *Ester* (Martinelli/Moreira, 1786), aria (No. 22). P-La, 48-II-19 (Vol. 2), fol. 69r–70v.

This image shows folio 69r of a musical manuscript. It contains a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The vocal line begins with a melodic phrase in G major, marked with a 'Solo' instruction. The basso continuo line provides a harmonic accompaniment. The page number '69' is written in the upper right corner. The lyrics 'sento mio Dio mi vien da te - e quel piacer ch'io' are written below the vocal line. The tempo is marked 'Allegro' and the time signature is 3/4.

This image shows folio 70v of the musical manuscript. It continues the vocal and basso continuo lines from the previous page. The vocal line features a melodic phrase with a 'Solo' instruction. The basso continuo line continues the harmonic accompaniment. The page number '70' is written in the upper right corner. The lyrics 'sento mio Dio mi vien da te - e quel piacer ch'io' are written below the vocal line. The tempo is marked 'Allegro' and the time signature is 3/4.

Handwritten musical score for a choir and piano. The score consists of ten staves. The top four staves are for the choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass), and the bottom six staves are for the piano (Right Hand, Left Hand, and four additional staves). The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The piano part features a prominent bass line with many sixteenth notes. The choir part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The word "Cresc:" is written in the piano part on the fifth and sixth staves.

Handwritten musical score for a choir and piano. The score consists of ten staves. The top four staves are for the choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass), and the bottom six staves are for the piano (Right Hand, Left Hand, and four additional staves). The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The piano part features a prominent bass line with many sixteenth notes. The choir part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The word "Cresc:" is written in the piano part on the fifth and sixth staves. The lyrics "to mio Di-o mi vien da te" are written under the piano part on the eighth staff.



While Mordecai receives more musical material in Martinelli and Moreira's oratorio than any other character, it seems more useful to consider Esther and Ahasuerus as part of a single conceptual whole—two sides of the same royal coin. Without one another, the two—both in the biblical story and in the oratorio—would have surely failed; Esther cannot enact her goals and deliverance of the Jewish people without the help of the king, yet Ahasuerus would never have learned of Haman's plot without the queen's intervention. Musically, Ahasuerus and Esther together occupy a greater space in the oratorio than any other character—they sing four arias between them at the most crucial moments in the work. While Mordecai frames and propels the action of the first act, Esther takes center stage to close the work. It is perhaps Esther's transformation across this schema that results in her titular focus. Yet the ultimate impetus and moral underpinning of Esther's transformation is the role of Ahasuerus—the noble, if misled, king who is likewise transformed in his understanding and acceptance of love and his strong hand against betrayal.

As such, *Ester* perhaps served a number of goals at the court of Maria I. First, the noble actions of King Ahasuerus—performed by the *primo uomo* castrato Carlos Reina—suggest that the character served in the allegorical symbolism of prince José. The famed castrato's roles regularly seemed to overlay images of kingship onto the young prince. In ultimately revealing Esther's transformation in the work, however, the pairing of King Ahasuerus with Queen Esther suggests a deeper moralizing effect and perhaps implies the proper relationship between the male and female royal counterparts. A queen, though

female (emotional, nervous, diffident) could rule effectively by the side of a king (stable, loving, firm). The lesson would likely have been a relevant one for a prince's education at the court of Maria I, whereby the oratorio would teach by example as a model of enlightened and benevolent monarchs—both male and female.

Despite its careful rendering of the tale of Esther and its effective moralizing tone at the first performance in 1786, the work's repeat performance for Maria Benedita's name day on March 21, 1791—three years after José's death and five years after Pedro III's death—must have been cause for deep and painful reflection at court. Without a king, Maria Benedita could no longer hope for the joyful transformation of Queen Esther; Maria I could no longer rule in the stability of her male counterpart. Thus, when in 1792 Maria I suffered a severe attack of religious terror at one of the Salvaterra productions during Carnival, the court resolved to secure, finally, just such a male figure to return the court to the necessary order.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### New Musical and Monarchical Orders: Oratorio for Changing Audiences (1793–1807)

The tradition of oratorio performance established by Maria I at the Portuguese court in the mid-1780s met an untimely demise in the early 1790s. In the late 1780s, the monarchy had endured a series of crises, including two particularly unfortunate royal deaths: the death of the king consort Pedro III in 1786 and the death of the prince heir José in 1788, which resulted in three dark and particularly uneasy years at court. The anxiety over royal stability and succession that Maria I had worked to control—in part by underscoring her role as a powerful feminine figure in a nonetheless predominantly male royal universe—again intensified.

The Portuguese court sought several means by which to bolster a renewed sense of stability in the monarchy following the deaths of Pedro III and the prince José. As shown in Chapter 3, though Queen Maria I remained a central figure in yearly ceremonial cycles from 1789, as did the late heir's widowed princess, the cycle of court ceremony shifted once more to accommodate gala and musical productions for newly central name and birthdays and to underscore a new faction of centralized power. Most importantly, court ceremonial centered immediately on the new heir, João and his princess, Carlota Joaquina of Spain. That new division of power, however, inherited but a shadow of the absolutist monarchy that had heralded a "new Rome" at the beginning of the century (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Irreparably damaged by a century's worth of cyclical devastation and renewal, the court of João and Carlota would usher in a new era of court politics in which, whether

due to incompetence or fatigue—or perhaps a clearer sense of the court's most amenable path forward than they are often afforded—the Portuguese court endeavored to accomplish a fusion of courtly and public social spheres unimaginable under the previous reigns of the absolute monarchy.<sup>1</sup> By 1792, Maria I had fallen into a state of so-called "madness"—a state of mental anxiety most often manifested as religious terrors that apparently rendered the queen incompetent to rule, though she would live until 1816.<sup>2</sup> In 1792 João took over as prince regent, signing for his mother and effectively ruling as absolute monarch through his actual acclamation in 1816 (little more than a change in title, by that point). Scholars have recently begun to question the physiological verity of the queen's condition, especially considering her more than skilled rule up to that period and continued rule for several years after José's death; it seems possible that the queen's madness was as much based on actual physical illness as a pressure to turn the court over

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<sup>1</sup> João VI proved rather indecisive in the period leading up to the flight to Brazil, and scholarship has characterized his reign as one of combined political incompetence, laziness, cowardice, and general corruption of the centralized monarchy. See Laurentino Gomes, *1808: como uma rainha louca, um príncipe medroso e uma corte corrupta enganaram Napoleão e mudaram a história de Portugal e do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Planeta do Brasil, 2007) [Translated to English by Andrew Nevins and reprinted as *1808: The Flight of the Emperor* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press/Globe Pequot Press, 2013)]. The Portuguese title of this text more accurately translates to: "1808: How a Mad Queen, a Craven Prince, and a Corrupt Court Fooled Napoleon and Changed the History of Portugal and Brazil."

<sup>2</sup> The mental deterioration of Maria I, and the subsequent regency of her son João (future king João VI) have been extensively examined in the literature, though most treatments focus on João's decision to transfer the Portuguese court to Brazil to evade the French Invasions in 1807. For a general treatment and bibliography, see Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI, Príncipe e Rei*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional da Publicidade, 1953), and Ana Maria Rodrigues, ed., *D. João VI e o seu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999).

into more obviously stable male hands.<sup>3</sup> Those new hands, as would be shown, would fashion a court in stark contrast to its predecessors—the centralized absolute monarchy of João V, José I, and Maria I was coming to a quick and inevitable close.

*1793: An Unlikely Oratorio for a Portuguese Princess*

On April 29, 1793, the Portuguese court—rattled by years of death and the queen's recent madness—breathed a deep sigh of relief. The court's prince regent João and his wife Carlota Joaquina of Spain delivered that morning their first-born child—a daughter, Maria Teresa de Portugal. The birth of the princess served as a moment of temporary reprieve from an increasing anxiety over the mutability of the monarchy, especially since João and Carlota clearly lacked the firmness and purpose of their absolutist predecessors amid the rising pressures of the ongoing French Revolution to the north. Compounding this anxiety, eight long fruitless years weighed heavily on the minds of the monarchy, since João—who himself was never meant to sit on the Portuguese throne—stood at the end of the royal line. A princess, therefore, meant a measure of durability—an answered prayer, so to speak. Thus, as on many royal occasions in the past, the court breathed forth a temporary sigh, and the anxiety and silence receded to the din of celebratory music.

Yet that music, too, betrayed ongoing changes to Portuguese society and the absolute monarchy that even a princess couldn't undo. In the month that followed the

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<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos's discussion in the preface to Boléo, *D. Maria I*.

birth, musical events, both sacred and secular—such as musical dramas and serenatas, masses, *Te Deums*, and incidental music of all sorts—resonated across Lisbon. This was not new; royal births often catalyzed musical events. However, in 1793, the musical celebrations that ensued left behind the centralized ceremony of the court, the exclusive locus and sponsor of such events in the past, and instead unfolded across the bourgeois city, in the palaces of prominent Portuguese businessmen, for instance, who paid for and organized elaborate musical performances by esteemed court composers and musicians. Cristina Fernandes has argued that as such, these vast musical celebrations together served as a self-legitimizing demonstration, meant to replicate the ceremony of the monarchy, by the newly powerful Portuguese bourgeoisie.<sup>4</sup> Portuguese merchants and financiers for the first time in recent history outnumbered foreign businessmen in the Portuguese capital, and their financial means made them able to participate in the elite socio-cultural spheres that had previously been the exclusive domain of the court and nobility.<sup>5</sup>

One remarkable performance within this extensive music making—the oratorio *La preghiera esaudita* (The Answered Prayer)—was given as part of a Triduum, a series of special religious devotions that unfolded over a three-day period in honor of the princess's birth, at Lisbon's Castelo de São Jorge. Organized by Lisbon's Police

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<sup>4</sup> Cristina Fernandes, "Entre a apologia do poder real e as aspirações da burguesia: manifestações musicais em torno do nascimento de D. Maria Teresa, Princesa da Beira (1793)," in *Música Discurso Poder: Coleção Hespérides Literatura* 26, ed. Maria do Rosário Girão Santos and Elisa Maria Lessa (Braga: Universidade do Minho, 2012), 67–81. Other studies of changing urban class composition in Lisbon in this period include Maria Alexandre Lousada's *Espaços de sociabilidade em Lisboa, finais do século XVIII a 1834* (PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Fernandes, "Entre a apologia," 79.

Superintendent of the Court and Realm, Diogo Ignácio de Pina Manique, the Triduum was an elaborate and carefully executed event drew on both court and bourgeois resources. Examining the work within the tradition of oratorio performance that had developed at the Portuguese court since midcentury, as discussed in Chapter 3, however, *La preghiera esaudita* eschews many the most basic principles of the genre as dictated by Portuguese court practice, including the genre's typical Lenten performance context, function as court name day ceremonial, usual dramatic Scriptural content, and—for the last fifteen years or so—Portuguese compositional authorship. The work's pointed circumvention of these genre norms calls into question its position within the rapidly changing discourse of royal power in late eighteenth-century Lisbon. Though the music of the oratorio is apparently lost, existing printed libretti permit an analysis of the work's structure and poetic content,<sup>6</sup> and several printed historical accounts of the events allow a reconstruction of the work's performance.<sup>7</sup> My reading of these documents suggests that the oratorio perhaps served less as a self-legitimizing demonstration of musical and ceremonial aptitude within the hierarchical tradition than as an incisive statement of a new political (and musical) order.

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<sup>6</sup> Copies of the libretto can be found in various libraries across Portugal (P-Ln, P-La, P-EVp, P-Cul) and Brazil (BR-Rn). The copy consulted for this chapter is one of four copies held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon (T.S.C. 160 P.). The music of the oratorio is apparently lost.

<sup>7</sup> Among the most important is: Inácio de Sousa e Meneses, *Memorias Historicas dos Applausos, com que a Corte, e Cidade de Lisboa celebrou o nasimento, e baptismo da . . . Princeza da Beira* (Lisbon: na Officina de Joze de Aquino Bulhoens, 1793). The *Gazeta de Lisboa* also reported the events of the Triduum in detail. See Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 20 (May 18, 1793).

The performance of *La preghiera esaudita* took place on the afternoon of May 14, the first day of the Triduum, which was held in Lisbon's Castelo de São Jorge. The medieval castle, situated high on a hill above Lisbon's center city, had accommodated Portuguese monarchs from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries. Having long been abandoned as a royal residence, since 1781 the castle had housed instead the Real Casa Pia—a social institution and orphanage founded and administered by Pina Manique under the royal authorization of Maria I. In a shrewd elision of space and function, Pina Manique organized the Triduum to occur in the former royal residences of the castle.

The ambitious and impressive transformation of the Castelo by Pina Manique for the Triduum events is described in detail in a memorial tract by Ignacio de Souza e Menezes.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the renovated spaces, Pina Manique effectively fabricated a miniaturized universe, one in which the appendages of royalty (including its musical ceremony) were now under the control of a civic authority. Called by formal invitation, guests of the Triduum included diplomats, ecclesiastical dignitaries, the highest nobility of the Court, and businessmen of distinction, both national and foreign, not to mention the many ladies who accompanied them. Upon arrival, escorts led the guests from the Castelo's Praça das Armas through a large, newly constructed entryway, which proceeded up a staircase enclosed by rich fabrics to a series of several elaborately decorated and illuminated rooms in which recreation and devotion intermingled, serving variously for religious ceremony, musical performance, dining, and dancing. Upon ascending the staircase, the guests were led down a corridor to the "Sala da Espera" (waiting room),

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<sup>8</sup> My description is based on Menezes account in *Memorias Historicas*.



where they were greeted by Pina Manique and his sons, who then welcomed the guests to be seated in the "Sala do Oratorio" (oratory room) for the first event—the marriage of forty of the Real Casa Pia's orphaned girls.<sup>9</sup> Afterward, the celebration moved into the connecting Sala da Serenata, a room typical in contemporary Portuguese palaces for the performance of musical drama, where the guests heard the oratorio *La preghiera esaudita*. After the performance, guests then were treated to an elaborate banquet in two large rooms, where the tables were decorated, in one case, with a raised platform displaying miniaturized architectural replicas from around the world—gazebos, palaces, military barracks—and in the other case, tiny jasper statues and delicate Saxon china. Finally, the day ended with the guests returning to the Sala da Serenata, where they danced minuets and contradances, while their servants retreated to a supper in an invented "forest" just outside the Sala da Serenata, where boys of the Real Casa Pia were hidden with whistles imitating nightingales and other birds to enhance the recreation.

The miniature universe constructed within the Castelo also resounded with music, much of which suggested the replication of royal structures. Guests encountered regimental music upon entering the corridor leading to the waiting room, and the waiting room itself featured the music of four trios of timpanists (called *timbaleiros*), which Menezes noted came to perform there "by very particular Privilege, since [the *timbaleiros*] neither play nor serve except in the functions of the Royal Court and

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<sup>9</sup> Not to be confused with the musical genre of "oratorio" (though perhaps incidental in the selection of the musical performance to be discussed momentarily), the *oratorio* or oratory in this sense refers to the decorative altars often utilized in Portuguese religious practice; in this case, the marriage of the orphans and subsequent religious devotion unfolded in view of a large and elaborately decorated altarpiece, which portrayed a life-sized version of the Sainted Queen Isabel of Portugal.

Chapel."<sup>10</sup> Inside the Sala do Oratorio, a pavilion of sorts was constructed to accommodate thirty-six instrumentalists and sixteen vocalists, all members of the queen's chambers, for the performance of a *Te Deum* following the marriage of the orphans—the instrumentalists likely also performed *La preghiera esaudita*. At other moments in the festivities, music also served as an elegant sonic backdrop for procession or entertainment, such as a "happy" march that accompanied the procession of the guests from the oratorio performance to the banquet. All the main musical events—the *Te Deum*, the oratorio, and two masses from the subsequent days of the Triduum—featured newly composed music from Rome commissioned by Pina Manique.

Amid these various incidental and liturgical musical performances, the oratorio, nonetheless, served as the most extensive musical diversion of the entire Triduum, functioning as dramatic musical relief on the occasion of the princess's birth. The title page of the oratorio underscores both the function of the work and the prestigious status of its patron Pina Manique, as transcribed in Figure 4.1.

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<sup>10</sup> Menezes, *Memorias Historicas*, 94. "No alto da mesma se-via a primeira sala, e n'ella crescia a grandeza, que se ostentava em toda a escada com quatro ternos de Timbaleiros, e sua propria Musica; vestidos com as fardas ricas, de panno encarnado, e agoladas de oiro; e vindos por Mercê muito particular; pois nam tócam, nem servam senam em funções da Capela, e Caza Real."

Figure 4.1: Title page of *La preghiera esaudita* (1793). P-Ln, T.S.C. 160 P.

**LA PREGHIERA ESAUDITA:**  
*ORATORIO*  
 DA CANTARSI  
 NELLA REAL CASA PIA  
 DEL  
 CASTELLO DI SAN GIORGIO  
 DI LISBONA  
 IN OCCASIONE DELLE PUBBLICHE FESTE  
 DEL FELICISSIMO PARTO  
 DI SUA ALTEZA SERENISSIMA  
 D. CARLOTA GIOACHINA  
 PRINCIPESSA DEL BRASILE  
 CELEBRATE IL DI 14 MAGGIO 1793.  
 IN SEGNO DI UMILE OBSEQUIO  
 DA DIOGO IGNAZIO  
 DE PINA MANIQUE,

*Cavaliere de la Réggia de Sua Maestà Fedelissima, del suo  
 Consiglio, Commendatore de P Ordine de Cristo, Senatore  
 del Palazzo, Intendente Generale de Politica de la Cor-  
 te e Regno, Amministratore Generale de la Dogana  
 Maggiore de la Città de Lisbona, e Fattore Supre-  
 mo del' altre Dogane del Regno, cet. cet.*

[ROYAL ARMS]  
 LISBONA

Nella Stamperia de Antonio Rodrigo Galhardo.  
*Com licenza della Real Mensa della Commissione Gene-  
 rale sopra l' Esame, e Censura de' Libbri.*

**THE ANSWERED PRAYER:**  
*ORATORIO*  
 TO BE SUNG  
 IN THE REAL CASA PIA  
 OF THE  
 CASTLE OF S. JORGE  
 LISBON  
 ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLIC CELEBRATION  
 OF THE MOST HAPPY BIRTH  
 OF HER HIGHNESS

D. CARLOTA JOAQUINA  
 PRINCESS OF BRAZIL  
 TO BE CELEBRATED MAY 14, 1793  
 AS A SIGN OF HUMBLE SERVICE  
 BY IGNACIO DIOGO  
 DE PINA MANIQUE

*Cavalier of the Realm of Her Most Faithful Majesty, of her Council, Commander of the Order of Christ, Senator of the Palace, Intendant General of Police of the Court and Realm, General Director of the Major Customs of the City of Lisbon, and Supreme Keeper of the Customs of the Realm, etc. etc.*

[ROYAL ARMS]  
 LISBON

Printed by Antonio Rodrigo Galhardo.  
*With license by the Royal Table of the General Commission over the Examination and Censorship of Books.*

The work boasted musical and textual settings that blended the cultural prestige of Roman musical tradition together with a distinct Portuguese sensibility—Giovanni Cavi, the maestro of the Royal Church of Sant'Antonio de' Portughesi in Rome, provided the music, and the drama was created by Giovanni Gerardo de Rossi, the director of the Portuguese Academy of the Fine Arts in Rome.<sup>11</sup> Allegorical in nature, Rossi's libretto develops as a dialogue between five characters—*L'Angelo* (a Protective Angel of the Portuguese Realm), *La Felicità* (Happiness), *La Abbondanza* (Abundance), *La Pace* (Peace), and *Il Tago* (the Tagus River in Lisbon, which flowed toward the Atlantic in full view of the castle). Five esteemed castrati and male vocalists hired from the court (all labeled "Virtuoso al Servizio di S. M. F." in the libretto) joined together with renowned

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<sup>11</sup> The renewed interest in Rome is striking here, since Maria I had moved strongly away from this cultural model.

Portuguese mezzo soprano Luísa Todi—whose appearance here was highly unexpected (discussed below)—to provide the entertainment:

*L'ANGELO Tutelare del Regno* (Guardian of the Realm), Il Sig. Gio Gelati [S]  
*LA FELICITÀ*, La Signora Todi [Mezzo Soprano]  
*L' ABBONDANZA*, Il Sig. Giuseppe Capranica [S]  
*LA PACE*, Il Sig. Leonardo Martini [A]  
*IL TAGO*, Il Sig. Giuseppe Forlivesi [T]  
*Per rinforzare i Cori* (To reinforce the Chorus), Il Sig. Antonio Puzzi [B]

The Sala da Serenata, in which the oratorio was performed, furthermore, was decorated specifically to reflect the work's principal characters. Running north to south, the room included five windows along the west side—windows that would have provided views over the city and Tagus River. In between these windows, paintings of the allegorical characters were displayed, along with figures representing music that framed the windows on each end of the room. At the far north end of the room, between two doorways, the Protective Angel of the Realm took pride of place. Depicted above a clouded pedestal, the Angel was flanked by a scepter, a medal inscribed with the Portuguese royal arms, and a banner carrying the inscription "Alegra-te Portugal" (Rejoice, Portugal). To complete the allegory, the south end of the room bore paintings of the mythological figures Apollo and Mercury.

Small in overall proportion, the work strays from the more typical alternation of secco and accompanied recitatives and arias found in previous court oratorios. Instead, the libretto indicates a rather arbitrary movement between recitatives, arias, various combinations of solo voices, and chorus (Table 4.1). Nonetheless, the work is clever in its specific location of the drama through annotations in the libretto. A note placed at the beginning of the libretto makes the location of the drama explicit: "The place of the

action represents a vast plain with views of the city of Lisbon in the distance, as well

as the Tagus River, which flows toward the sea."

**Table 4.1: *La preghiera esaudita* (Giovanni Gerardo de Rossi/Giovanni Cavi, 1793), structural outline.<sup>12</sup>**

### Part One

Section	Character(s)	First line
Italicized note in libretto: " <i>Il luogo dell'azione rappresenta una vasta pianura con veduta della città di Lisbona in distanza, e del Tago, che va a sboccare nel mare.</i> "		
Trio with chorus	Felicità / Pace / Abbondanza	<i>Se l'Autor di tutti i beni</i>
Recitative	Felicità	<i>È vero...</i>
Aria	Felicità	<i>Ovunque il guardo giri</i>
Recitative	Felicità / Pace / Abbondanza / Angelo	<i>Giusta è la tua richiesta</i>
Chorus	Coro di popolo	<i>Spirito alato</i>
Italicized note in libretto: " <i>Comparisce da lungi il Tago seguito da solto popolo, e mentre egli si avvanza cantasi il seguente.</i> "		
Recitative	All	<i>Giusto è il grave dolore</i>
Duo	Felicità / Angelo	<i>Si che sperarlo giova</i>

### Part Two

Duo	Pace / Abbondanza	<i>Consola o dolce speme</i>
Recitative	Felicità / Pace / Abbondanza / Tago	<i>Qual tristezza quì regna!</i>
Recitative	Felicità	<i>Quì più non v'è chi il mio favore apprezzi</i>
Aria	Felicità	<i>Tutti al Cielo in mesti accenti</i>
Recitative	Felicità / Pace / Abbondanza / Tago	<i>S'appressa il Tago</i>
Chorus alternating with Aria	Coro di popolo / Tago	<i>Gran Dio, che ognor ti mostri; Gran Dio l'eccelsa pianta</i>
Recitative	Felicità	<i>Ah tacete tacete</i>
Recitative	Angelo	<i>Popoli udite</i>
Aria	Angelo	<i>Al Gran Dio</i>
Recitative/Arioso	All	<i>Oh piacere!</i>
Duo	Felicità / Angelo	<i>Oh quale evento!</i>
Trio	Felicità / Angelo / Tago	<i>Alla nostra fedeltà</i>

<sup>12</sup> Sections and musical styles have been approximated from the printed libretto.

The general opening dialogue between the characters Felicità, Pace, Abbondanza, and choruses of their followers, sets a joyful tone. Praising the rich history and divine favor bestowed upon Lisbon, the chorus repeats: "Rejoice, happy people to God for His blessing."<sup>13</sup> An Angel soon appears and joins the praise, attributing the success of the Lusitanian people to their "faithful veneration of God" and "obedience to the throne."<sup>14</sup> Yet all is not entirely well: as a note in the libretto adds, the Tagus "appears from afar . . . trailed by a large following of Lusitanian people," who sing:

<i>Spirito alato, che in Ciel ne difendi,</i>	Winged Spirit, that in the heavens defends
	us,
<i>Deh tu ascolta le nostre querele,</i>	Hear our plea,
<i>Tu alle voci di un popol fedele</i>	To you are raised the voices of a faithful
	people
<i>Fa, che il Nume si volga a pietà.</i>	So that God will have compassion.

The Lusitanian people direct their cries at the lack of an heir, and the Angel departs to beseech the Divine's favor on their behalf. As the oratorio's second part presses anxiously forward, and the allegorical characters continue to contemplate the fate of the Lusitanian empire, the Angel's slow return causes fear to grow among them. As the Tagus becomes increasingly despondent, Felicità calls for action—"Useless, troublesome fear: Let us raise a *new prayer* (*nuova preghiera*) upward to Heaven with new ardor"<sup>15</sup>—an apparently successful plea, since the Angel promptly returns. The Angel, giving the proclamation, elaborates the blessed royal lineage before joining Felicità and the Tagus in celebration:

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<sup>13</sup> "Deh gioite amiche genti / Del divino suo favor."

<sup>14</sup> Le LUSITANE genti / Godon di quei contenti, / Che serba il Cielo in dono / Ad un popol, che fido / Venera il Nume, ed obbedisce al trono?"

<sup>15</sup> "Vano / Importuno timor: nuova preghiera / Rivolgi al Ciel con nuovo ardore, e spera." My emphasis.

<i>Popoli udite. Il suon di vostre preci</i>	Hear ye, People! The sound of your prayers
<i>Giunse, e trovò pietade innanzi a Dio</i>	Arrived and found pity before God.
<i>Gia CARLOTTA assicura</i>	Already CARLOTTA ensures
<i>I bramati germogli al tronco Augusto.</i>	The awaited buds on the August stem.
<i>Il GENITOR contento</i>	The happy PARENT
<i>Come virgulti di secondo olivo</i>	Like the offshoots of a new olive tree.
<i>Vedrà sorgere i figli a se d'intorno,</i>	He will see children growing up around him
<i>Che adulti poi sapran del prode ALFONSO</i>	With adults furthermore known as the brave ALFONSO
<i>Del generoso PIETRO</i>	The Generous PIETRO
<i>Del grande EMANNUELLE</i>	The Great EMMANUELLE
<i>Dell'invitto GIOVANNI</i>	The Undefeated GIOVANNI
<i>Che saldo tenne il vacillante trono,</i>	Who brought stability to a vacillating throne,
<i>Le virtudi emular. Lieta la Madre</i>	To emulate the virtues. Happy the Mother
<i>Nelle dilette figlie</i>	In the beloved daughters
<i>Propagata vedrà d'ELISABETTA</i>	They see multiplied by ELISABETTA,
<i>La fervida pietà, l'alta prudenza,</i>	The fervent piety, the high prudence,
<i>Che rifulse in LUISA, e i pregi tutti</i>	That is shown in LUISA, and all the merits
<i>Che di MARIA rendon si chiaro il serto.</i>	That so clearly make a garland for MARIA.

As Fernandes has argued, the scene set here and the oratorio performance strongly suggest an appropriation of court ceremony, both social and musical. If drawn somewhat strangely together by Pina Manique, at the oratorio's performance bourgeois businessmen, nobility, and ecclesiastics essentially played house in the medieval palace, taking advantage of the new sociabilities in Lisbon society to replicate a court musical event. Moreover, the oratorio seems both to uphold that highest echelon of Lisbon's courtly establishment and clearly praises the royal heir—whatever the newfound power of the bourgeois classes and their play at royal ceremony, those classes remained deeply reliant on royal privilege and institutions.

Yet to say that the Portuguese bourgeoisie, enabled by Pina Manique, were appropriating court ceremony perhaps is not entirely accurate. As examined in Chapter 3, for instance, oratorio at the Portuguese court since midcentury served solely as



ceremonial for royal name days that fell within Lent. An oratorio in May, then, was an unlikely choice; outside Lent, musical drama at court typically included serenatas or operas. While the court often celebrated royal births with liturgical ceremony and music, including the standard performance of a *Te Deum*, the Triduum and its associated musical performances seem to constitute a singular occasion in 1793.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, whereas in nearly all previous Portuguese court oratorio biblical stories provided edifying entertainment (settings of the Passion, for instance, or the stories of King David or Queen Esther), *La preghiera esaudita*'s libretto engages in the sort of panegyric praise of monarchy far more common in contemporary secular productions for court gala, such as serenata.<sup>17</sup> Finally, given the religious nature of the oratorio and its function as a Lenten drama, oratorio at the Portuguese court had remained, as was typical across much of Europe, entirely unstaged, lacking (so far as can be determined) visual enhancement or theatrical indications of the sort noted in *La preghiera esaudita*'s libretto.

It remains possible that Pina Manique and the oratorio's composer and librettist cared little for the tradition that the oratorio supposedly meant to replicate, utilizing the designation "oratorio" as a generic marker of vague religiosity and devotional entertainment. Yet, in the curiously overwrought (and likely expensive) organization of the events and spaces of the Triduum, as well as the commission of the new oratorio from

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<sup>16</sup> Fernandes, "Entre a apologia," 72–75, describes the typical ceremony for royal births in detail. Most of these ceremonies surrounded the baptism of the royal child, which the court continued for the birth in 1793. After these ceremonies, however, the bourgeoisie appropriated and continued similar ceremony outside court.

<sup>17</sup> Many of the works cited in Chapter 3 for Maria I's name day (see Table 3.7), for instance, participate in the specific naming of royal figures and lineages at the very end of the work. The excerpt from *Il ritorno di Ulisses* cited in the chapter is one characteristic example.

Rome, it seems unlikely that Pina Manique would take so little care with the genre designation. Read more closely, the royalist text and generally imitative ceremony embodied in the oratorio seem to work toward a subversive goal: the suggestion of a new political and musical order, organized by Pina Manique and filtered through the powerful voice of Luísa Todí. In selecting the genre of oratorio, Pina Manique could have sought to imbue a sort of divine authorization of this new order, which the work subtly mythologized as a natural development of Lusitanian progress.

In this process, Pina Manique's sponsorship was an important one and deserves explanation. Of noble birth, Pina Manique served in the previous reign of José I in a number of official positions before being named the Intendente Geral da Polícia (Police Superintendent) under Maria I.<sup>18</sup> While charged primarily with overseeing and dealing with crime in Lisbon, Pina Manique also served as founder and administrator of a number of social and cultural institutions—such as the Real Casa Pia—for which he obtained royal authorization and which he financed through the contributions of Lisbon's bourgeois merchant class. The most important among these institutions, however, was the Real Teatro de São Carlos—a "court opera house for the bourgeoisie" (to borrow the words of Mário Vieira de Carvalho), which Pina Manique financed through a group of savvy Portuguese businessmen and built in a matter of just under half a year in early 1793.<sup>19</sup> The theater meant to replace the magnificent but ill-fated court opera house

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<sup>18</sup> On Pina Manique's career, see José Norton and André Cardoso, *Pina Manique: o fundador da Casa Pia* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> The construction of this theater, its subsequent appropriation of all Italian operatic spectacle (including that formerly reserved for court theaters), and Pina Manique's role in the entire operation have received considerable scholarly attention. See Mário Vieira de

Ópera do Tejo. The opening of the new theater—which was dedicated to and named after Princess Carlotta Joaquina of Spain—served as one of the final events in the celebration of the birth of Carlota and João's newborn daughter, princess Maria Teresa, then just several months old. It also marked the definitive end of court operatic and oratorio performances, which were subsequently held exclusively at the Teatro de São Carlos. As argued in Carvalho's study of the Teatro de São Carlos, in this regard, the new theater embodied an important symbolic dimension in offering the bourgeoisie, including those individuals in Pina Manique's network—whose funds were crucial to the realization of that project—an obvious new form of sociability through closer public contact with the court.<sup>20</sup> The theater boasted a large and lavish central royal box directly facing the stage, with five tiers of smaller boxes extending outward around the elliptical theater.<sup>21</sup> As opposed to the court theaters of the past, in which the royalty extended invitations to an exclusive audience, however, the public could now flank the royalty for the right price. It is not clear whether the court actually attended the inaugural performance of Cimarosa's *La ballerina amante* on June 30, 1793 (planned for June 29, but delayed for some

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Carvalho, *"Pensar é morrer" ou o teatro de São Carlos na mudança de sistemas socio comunicativos desde fins do séc. XVIII aos nossos dias* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1993); and Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*. For a more general history of the Teatro de São Carlos, see Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos*; and Moreau, *O teatro de S. Carlos*.

<sup>20</sup> See Carvalho, *"Pensar é morrer,"* 50.

<sup>21</sup> The theater remains in its more or less original construction in Lisbon today.

unknown reason by a day); at least João and Carlota Joaquina were invited and some effort was put forward to ensure their attendance.<sup>22</sup>

Appearing in the midst of this transition—just months prior to the inauguration of the new Teatro de São Carlos—the princess's birth and the ensuing celebratory events perhaps served as a platform on which to rehearse the socio-cultural changes to be realized in the Teatro de São Carlos. Similarly dislocated from court edifices to the center of Lisbon, the Castelo de São Jorge and the performance of *La preghiera esaudita* united bourgeois audiences with the court's highest nobility. Yet the subversion of the court establishment and tradition in the Triduum is nowhere as obvious as in the performance of Luísa Todi.

The renowned Portuguese mezzo soprano had not performed in Lisbon since at least 1777, due to Maria I's sweeping ban of female performers from Lisbon's public stages upon her ascent to the throne, at which point Todi left Portugal to find fame across Europe—most importantly at the court of Catherine the Great in Russia from 1784 to 1788.<sup>23</sup> The ban on female performers was not lifted until 1799, when Prince Regent

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<sup>22</sup> Cranmer cites a letter, dated June 27, 1793, from José Seabra da Silva (Minister of the Realm) to the royal couple seeking confirmation of their presence at the opening of the theater on June 29 (P-La 54-XIII-15.83, cited in Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 1:17).

<sup>23</sup> Though Maria I's ban on women from Lisbon's public stages is well known, little evidence exists to firmly identify the queen's cause for implementing the ban—no written decree has ever been found. Contemporary visitors (most notably, William Beckford) frequently noted the undesirable results of the ban—bearded and ungraceful male singers and dancers parading on stage as women in Lisbon's public theaters. Most commonly, scholarship has cited a scandal between the singer Anna Zamperini and the son of the Portuguese secretary of state, the Marques de Pombal, in 1774 as possible cause. See Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, and Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*. For a biographical account of Todi, see Mário Moreau, *Cantores de ópera portuguesas* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1981); and Mário Moreau, *Luísa Todi (1743–1833)* (Lisbon: Hugin, 2002).

João was proclaimed *de jure* Regent of Portugal, but it was one of his first moves after the extension of his power.<sup>24</sup> By October 16 that year, female singers began to assume the roles previously assigned to castrati (who were, of course, becoming increasingly difficult to find). It remains unclear what sort of privilege Pina Manique obtained to allow such a performance in 1793, but it appears that Todi was called back to Portugal specifically for her performance in these festivities and returned to her current position in Madrid shortly thereafter.

In terms of musical tradition, her performance marked the power of Pina Manique to subvert courtly prohibitions and expectations, while at the same time the oratorio's circumvention of genre norms reinforced the abandonment of established tradition. Furthermore, the oratorio's text, especially that poetry given to Todi's character, suggests that the allegory extended beyond the royal birth. Performing the role of Felicità, Todi declared, for instance:

*Dilette amiche  
Mie compagne vi scelsi, e i doni vostri  
Chiesi a favor del LUSITANO impero.*

Beloved friends, my companions  
I selected you and your gifts,  
I asked the favor of the LUSITANIAN  
Empire.

Later, while waiting for the decree, she further proclaimed: "Beloved companions / Our work here is in vain."<sup>25</sup> On the surface, such statements are meant—in the first instance—to signify the happiness of Lusitania given its historical successes; and, in the second instance, to lament the continued lack of the heir. They also, however, allow a certain

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<sup>24</sup> Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 1:30.

<sup>25</sup> "Compagne amate / Vana è qui l'opra nostra."

amount of reading between the lines. Todi did select her compatriots, the Portuguese, returning to perform for them when given the opportunity, despite her exclusion by the court. Moreover, the text strongly implies that the work of Pina Manique, and the social classes that now had access to the performances that he sponsored, was no longer in vain. In a later extended recitative, Felicità further explicates the changing composition of Lisbon's social and royal power scheme, noting her vain search among the great and the common people (implying their division), then praising a "wise, faithful executor of the high command" (suggestive of Pina Manique), who brought new life to commercial industry and the fine arts in preparing "useful citizens for the Kingdom" (possibly a reference to Pina Manique's work in the Real Casa Pia):

*Quì più non v'è [vi è] chi il mio favore apprezzi:*

Here my support is no longer appreciated:

*Meta ad ogni desire è la bramata*

The goal and every desire is the longed for

*Fecundità nel Regio sangue. In vano*

Fecundity in the Royal blood.

*Fra i Grandi, fra la Plebe, in van cercai*

Among the Great, and among the plebians, I sought in vain

*Chi mi seguisse. Indarno volsi il piede*

Those who would follow me. In vain I approached the foot

*Al Pio Reale Albergo,*

Of the Pious Royal Chambers,

*Ove l'Augusta Donna, e il Prencce Augusto*

Where the Noble Lady, and the Noble Prince,

*Del Tago i figli, cui fortuna avversa*

The Children of the Tagus, whose adverse fortune

*Minacciava sventure*

Threatened to bring tragedy,

*Accolsero pietosi, e dove un saggio*

Compassionately embraced, and where a wise

*Fedele esecutor del gran comando*

Faithful executor of the high command

*Con generosa mano*

With generous hand

*Altri destina al brando,*  
     destined some for the [sword],  
*Altri al commercio industrie, altri alle sarte,*  
     Others to the commercial industry, others to the tailors  
*Altri alla nobil arte,*  
     Others to the fine arts,  
*Che dagli egri mortali*  
     So that from the suffering mortals  
*Fuga gli acerbi mali,*  
     The bitter evils depart  
*Altri seguaci vuol delle tre suore*  
     Other followers desire the three sisters [virtues]  
*Imitatrici belle di natura,*  
     Beautiful imitators of nature,  
*E di ciascun l'ingegno*  
     And from each the ingenuity  
*Esaminando con prudente sguardo*  
     Examining with cautious watchfulness  
*Prepara cittadini utili al Regno*  
     To prepare useful citizens for the Kingdom.  
*In quella sede, a me d'intorno ognora*  
     In that place, surrounding me evermore  
*Lieto stuolo io vedea: ma in questo giorno*  
     Gladly I beheld the crowd: but on this day  
*Non vidi che infelici a me d'intorno.*  
     I did not see that the miserable surrounded me.

While the oratorio celebrates the birth of the princess, Todi's text, moreover, remains strongly focused on the Lusitanian "people"—their interests and desires; in short, their happiness. Todi's return was both much noted and praised, as evidenced in both Menezes's account and the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, where she was heralded as "aquella Celebre Portugueza" returned to her homeland and compatriots:

Mrs. Todi was given particular attention; being a native of Lisbon, and endowed by nature with such an admirable gift for singing, she has passed through foreign countries, where she rose to the fore and perfected her gift: the great progress that she made there, necessarily caused the most vivid longing for *that Celebrated Portuguese* to grow in her Homeland; until finally, she returned to this City, and

sang in this event, satisfying completely the greatest desires and wishes to hear her.<sup>26</sup>

The *Gazeta de Lisboa* likewise noted:

Among the voices that executed the Oratorio, the audience had the incomparable pleasure of hearing Mrs. Todi, who after having gained in many foreign countries the distinction as the premiere singer of our time, came on this occasion to show to her *countrymen* that her singing surpassed any impression of that which had given her fame.<sup>27</sup>

Todi's performance was no doubt a cause for new happiness throughout the Portuguese bourgeois city.

During the extended celebration in Lisbon, Todi also performed in the serenata *Il natale augusto* (The Noble Birth) by Gaetano Martinelli and António Leal Moreira, which was arranged by Anselmo José da Cruz Sobral, another prominent Lisbon financier and colleague of Pina Manique, in his palatial residence.<sup>28</sup> The work is strikingly similar to *La preghiera esaudita*; in the serenata, an allegory develops around comparable characters (realized by many of the same performers)—Gloria (Todi), Invidia

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<sup>26</sup> Menezes, *Memorias Historicas*, 103. "Logrou particular attençam a Senhora Todi; a qual sendo natural de Lisboa, dotada pela natureza de um dom de cantar admirável, passou aos Paizes Estrangeiros, aonde se adiantou e aperfeiçoou n'aquella prenda: os grandes progressos que lá fazia, obrigavam a Fama a fomentar na Pátria a mais viva saudade *d'aquella Celebre Portugueza*; athé que finalmente voltou a esta Cidade, cantou nesta funçam, e satisfez completamente aos grandes dezejões, e maiores empenhos que havia de ouvir." My emphasis.

<sup>27</sup> Second supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 20 (May 18, 1793). "Entre as vozes, que executarão a Oratoria, teve o auditorio o incomparavel prazer de ouvir Madame *Todi*, que depois de ter ganhado em diversos Paizes estrangeiros os creditos da primeira cantora do nosso tempo, veio nesta occasião mostrar aos seus *compatriotas*, que o seu canto excede toda a idéa que delle tinha dado a fama." My emphasis.

<sup>28</sup> Fernandes, "Entre a apologia," briefly discusses this performance. A full description of the events surrounding the performance can likewise be found in Menezes, *Memorias Historicas*. Numerous libretti exist for the serenata (including a copy at P-Ln and a scanned copy available through BR-Rn's digital collection), and the manuscript score is preserved in P-Ln.



(Valeriano Violani), Lusitania (Francesco Angelelli), Arsace (Giuseppe Forlivesi), L'Amor Patrizio (Ansano Ferracuti), Tago (Antonio Puzzi)—and draws on many of the same basic themes. Together, the two performances further elided the characteristic division between the noble palatial performances and more courtly events, and they serve to underscore the vast networking of Pina Manique and Lisbon's financial class.

In regard to the quickly receding absolutist tradition, the oratorio for the Triduum was, indeed, unlikely—in the history of oratorio performance in Portugal, it remains an anomaly—but the work served a number of important goals. While the transformation of the Castelo de São Jorge as a sort of stage on which to enact royal ceremony is obvious, the curiously construed oratorio, and much of its text, reveals less an interest in replicating royal ceremony and more a subtle appropriation of those forms to forward new ideas, or new *prayers*, as Todi sang, which resonated deeply with the Enlightened governments and sociabilities gaining strength across Europe.<sup>29</sup> The work nonetheless upheld the joyous arrival of the royal heir and sustainability of the monarchy; the bourgeoisie and Pina Manique remained intimately tied to and dependent on that institution, and perhaps sought less to overthrow the court establishment than to disrupt its centralized power by integrating themselves more fully into its functioning. Yet the gradual dissolution of that monarchy's centralized power—a dissolution that would reach a breaking point when João, still ruling as prince regent, would pack up the court and set

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<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, Dorinda Outram's *The Enlightenment: New Approaches to European History*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) for a general survey of the restructuring of Enlightenment society in Europe. Much less a desire to overthrow the power structure of the monarchy, such appropriations of court ceremony still reflected an Enlightened desire to restructure the balance of power between the monarchy and bourgeoisie.

sail for Brazil to escape French invasions in 1807, and later again, more forcefully, in the liberal wars of 1834—was also acknowledged. It was precisely a result of those gradual changes that the Triduum could occur at all. Rather than replicate the ceremony of a weakening monarchy, however, the oratorio rather seems to suggest a more pointed and enlightened restructuring of Lisbon society, on the level of the new social interactions soon to be performed with the opening of the Teatro de São Carlos.

*1793–1807: Oratorio at the Real Teatro de São Carlos and the Merging of Private and Public Oratorio Performance Contexts*

When the new Real Teatro de São Carlos opened in June 1793, the theater did not adopt the sort of oratorio performance espoused by *La preghiera esaudita*. The 1793 oratorio for the Triduum remains an isolated occasion—a particular musical response to a unique set of circumstances. Curiously, oratorio recedes from the scene immediately after the performance of *La preghiera esaudita* for a number of years, during which time the theater regularly closed during Lent and no oratorios were performed whatsoever.<sup>30</sup> In part, this closure seems to have been the result of a desire by the singers for period of rest amid a sprawling operatic year, as well as the lack of a space appropriate to the performance of smaller, unstaged genres such as oratorio within the new theater.<sup>31</sup>

Just such a space was completed in 1796, when the Salão Nobre (Noble Salon) opened in a large room above the entrance hall and behind the main boxes on the second

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<sup>30</sup> Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 1:20.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

floor of the theater. The inaugural season of oratorio performance began that same year. For the occasion, a special advertisement ran in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, as Cranmer notes, likely to alert audiences to performances in a period when the theater had normally remained closed:

The Impresarios of the Royal Theater of *S. Carlos* make known to the Public, that in the Sala Nobre contiguous to the said Theater, there will be sung four Oratorios by the best Professors on the following nights: on 28 February, *Santa Helena ao Calvario* [*Sant'Elena al Calvario*], Music by *Gaetano Isola*; on 6 March, *Debora e Sisara*, Music by *Pietro Guglielmi*; on 10 March, *La Distruzione di Gerusalemme*, Music by [Giuseppe] *Giordanello*; on March 13, *Giuseppe Riconosciuto*, Music by *Gaetano Isola*. Tickets will be sold in the usual place.<sup>32</sup>

The most striking thing about the advertisement is the sheer number of works—four oratorios in the space of two weeks. In subsequent years the number of oratorios performed during Lent returns to a more expected one or two works each season (see Table 4.2 and Appendix 1). Calling attention to the change, the printed libretti of the works also highlighted the use of the new space. The 1796 libretto for Guglielmi's *Debora e Sisara*, for instance, noted the room specifically: "Sacred Drama to be sung in the new assembly room in the Royal Theater of S. Carlos, of the Princess, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, March 6, 1796."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Os Impresarios do Real Theatro de *S. Carlos* fazem saber ao Público, que na Sala nobre contigua ao dito Theatro se hão de cantar 4 Oratorias pelos melhores Professores nas noites seguintes: a 28 de Fevereiro, *Santa Helena ao Calvario*, Musica de *Caetano Isola*: a 6 de Março, *Debora e Sisara*, Musica de *Pedro Guglielmi*: a 10 dito, a *Desfeita de Jerusalem*, Musica de *Giordaniello*: a 13 dito, *José reconhecido*, Musica de *Caetano Isola*. Os Bilhetes se venderão no lugar costumado." *Gazeta de Lisboa*, Second Supplement, No. 8 (February 27, 1796).

<sup>33</sup> "Componimento sacro destinato cantarsi nella nuova sala della assemblea nel Reggio Teatro di S. Carlo, della Principessa nella quarta Domenica di Quaresima 6 di Marzo dell'anno 1796." P-Cug, Misc. 598 (n.º 9695).

The advertisement and first year of oratorio performances at the Teatro de São Carlos also suggest a new functional conception of the genre. Given that oratorio had only served as name day ceremonial at the court over the previous half century, the circumstances of the new court would likely have left aside oratorio altogether—no important royal celebrations occurred during Lent at the court of the prince regent (see Chapter 3). Royal birthdays and name days were still celebrated with performances at the Teatro de São Carlos in this period, but beginning with the opening of the Salão Nobre, the theater adopted the performance of oratorios during Lent much in the same way that other public theaters in Lisbon—such as the Teatro da Rua dos Condes or the Teatro do Bairro Alto—had utilized the genre in the past.<sup>34</sup>

The performance of oratorio in the public theaters of Lisbon has not yet been the subject of any systematic or in-depth study. It is not my intention to provide such a study here, but a few crucial points are worth brief explication. Many existing sources suggest a tradition of performance in Lisbon's public theaters from the mid-eighteenth-century; such documentation includes printed libretti, manuscript musical scores of works not known to have been performed at court, and existing documentation of requests for licenses to publish oratorio libretti or stage oratorio performances at public theaters submitted to the censorship board (Real Mesa Censória) in Lisbon. The difficulty in determining the tradition of public oratorio performance, however, stems largely from the

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<sup>34</sup> Lisbon's public theaters remain understudied in the scholarly literature. No singular study is dedicated to the public theaters, much less their oratorio performances, to date. I provide a preliminary discussion of oratorio production in these two theaters below. Brito, *Opera in Portugal* (Chapter 4), and Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, both discuss the operatic repertoires and performance forces of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and Teatro do Bairro Alto in some detail.

ambiguity of those sources, such as the printed libretti, which do not always name a performance date or locale. Many such documents may have been printed as *teatro de cordel*, which were printed works sold as texts in Lisbon for public reading (but not performed as musical works).<sup>35</sup> Many censorship documents likewise note a request for permission only to print oratorio texts, but do not indicate any performance to accompany that printing.

In 1773, for instance, a petition was submitted to the Real Mesa Censória by Theodoro Luis da Silva, who requested a license to "print the attached Oratorio, entitled—Joze no Egyto."<sup>36</sup> A work by the same name was submitted previously to the censors in 1771 by the impresarios of the Teatro do Bairro Alto.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, a libretto for a work by the same name exists in print from 1781, though the libretto does not note any performance venue, singers, or other details that might indicate an actual performance.<sup>38</sup> Though such documentation perhaps suggests that the Teatro do Bairro Alto sought to perform an oratorio *Joze no Egypto*, there is yet no clear evidence to definitively date an actual performance. Other documents from 1771 indicate that the Teatro do Bairro Alto sought permission to perform at least two oratorios in Lent that year, whether or not they were actually performed.<sup>39</sup> Neither request indicates the title of

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<sup>35</sup> See David Cranmer, "Music and the 'Teatro de Cordel': In Search of a Paradigm," *Portuguese Studies* 24, no. 1 (2008): 32–40.

<sup>36</sup> "Diz Theodoro Luiz da Silva, que elle pretende fazer imprimir a Oratoria que junta intitulada = Joze no Egyto = e porque precisa Licença." P-Lant, Real Mesa Censória, Cx. 20, doc. 175.

<sup>37</sup> P-Lant, Real Mesa Censória, Livro 11, fol. 149v.

<sup>38</sup> Copies of the libretto exist in libraries across Portugal, including the library of the P-Ltdm, TC 842, TC 841; P-Cul, Sala Jorge de Faria (JF 2-6-59); and P-Cug, Misc. 536.

<sup>39</sup> P-Lan, Real Mesa Censória, Cx. 19, docs. 148 and 149.

the work to be performed (though apparently the works were attached to the request).

The documents make clear, at the very least, that the theaters were not able to perform such works without permission by the censors and that the Teatro do Bairro Alto sought to put on such performances in Lent by the 1770s.

On the other hand, some documents make it quite clear that the genre had a performance life outside the court from at least the 1760s.<sup>40</sup> Two existing—and uncharacteristically detailed—printed libretti for performances of Metastasio's *Betulia liberata* at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, for instance, exist from 1768 and 1773.<sup>41</sup> Dedicated to a "D. Maria Majer," the 1768 libretto notes the composer of the work as Giuseppe Scolari and states that the work was to be presented in Lent. The libretto, more specifically, calls the work an "opera drammatica da rappresentarsi" (dramatic opera to be staged), which could indicate the unexplored possibility of staged performance of oratorios in public theaters in this period. The libretto further lists the following singers on the second page, all of whom are confirmed in Brito's study of the public theaters in this period:<sup>42</sup>

OZIA, Principe di Betulia  
GIUDITTA, Vedova di Manasse.  
AMITAL, Nobile Isdraelita.  
ACHIOR, Principe delli Amoniti.  
CHABRI, Capi del Popolo.  
CHARMI, Capi del Popolo.  
CORO degli abitanti di Betulia.

*Sig. Gaetano Scovelli, detto il Biondino.*  
*Sig. Geltruda Falchini.*  
*Sig. Giovanna Sestini.*  
*Sig. Giuseppe Trebbi.*  
*Sig. Nicodemo Calcina.*  
*Sig. Giuseppe Secchioni.*

<sup>40</sup> I have also suggested in Chapter 2 that Gaetano Schiassi's oratorios from the 1740s and 1750s could have been performed in public theaters.

<sup>41</sup> For the 1768 libretto, see P-Cug, Misc. 581; for the 1773 libretto, see P-Ln, M. 1428 P.

<sup>42</sup> Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, Chapter 4.

The work was apparently reprised in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in Lent of 1773, though in that year the new printed libretto labeled the work as a "Dramma Sacro...da rappresentarsi" (ambiguously positioned between unstaged and staged repertoires). Though the libretto's text remained unchanged, the document did not indicate a composer, but likewise included the cast:

OZIA, Principe di Betulia.	<i>Il Sig. Sebastiano Folicaldi.</i>
GIUDITTA, Vedova di Manasse.	<i>La Sig. Anna Zamperini.</i>
AMITAL, Nobile Isdraelita.	<i>La Sig. Antonia Zamperini.</i>
ACHIORRE, Principe degli Ammoniti.	<i>Il Sig. Giuseppe Trebbi.</i>
CABRI, Capo del Popolo.	<i>Il Sig. Antonio Tedeschi.</i>
CARMI, Capo del Popolo.	<i>Il Sig. Massimo Giuliani.</i>

In August of the same year, a license request to print a Portuguese translation of the work by Joze de Mesquita Falcão—which exists today as a Portuguese prose translation of Metastasio's Italian libretto—was submitted to the Real Mesa Censória.<sup>43</sup> This document suggests that, at least occasionally, actual performances predicated the creation of existing printed libretti that today lack precise performance details. The performance tradition evidently continued through the end of the century—the Rua dos Condes sought

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<sup>43</sup> P-Lan, Real Mesa Censória, Cx. 20, doc.118. The document does not include the name of the work, but states more generally: "[Te]ndo o traduzido da Lingua Italiana o Drama incluzo, a' Compos o Abbade Pedro Metastazio, e pertendendo publicado por meyo da impressaõ, naõ o devendo o fazer" ([H]aving translated from the Italian Language the included Drama, Composed by the Abbate Pietro Metastasio, and intending to publish it by means of printing)." Given the existing translation of *Betulia liberata*—or, *A Valerosa Judith*, as the translation indicates—by Falcão from that same year, the request seems very likely a reference to this text. The Falcão translated libretto is preserved in P-Ln, T.S.C. 193 P.

information about how to proceed with a license to produce the oratorio *Martírio de Santo Adrião* in February 1789.<sup>44</sup>

Another public performance context for oratorio also emerged outside the theaters during the middle of the eighteenth century in Lisbon that is worth brief discussion here. With the diffusion of Enlightenment ideals across Europe, numerous cultural circles emerged in Lisbon by midcentury that provided the elite class of businessmen—primarily foreigners—a new opportunity to organize private musical soirees. Numerous existing sources, mostly printed libretti, document the performance of Lenten oratorios in such informal academies. One particular example exists for the performance of José Joaquim dos Santos's setting of *L'Isacco, figura del Redentore* that was sung in private Assembly at the home of Luigi Giuseppe Pientzenauer in 1771 by singers of the Royal Chapel.<sup>45</sup> Among the most important of these various organizations, the Portuguese court violinist and composer Pedro António Avondano managed the "Assembleia das Nações Estrangeiras" (Assembly of Foreign Nations), which he operated out of his own house from at least 1766.<sup>46</sup> In particular, British nationals frequented Avondano's Assembleia, where they met twice a week for recreation. Avondano is known to have composed several minuets for these meetings, and it seems likely that Avondano could have written dramatic works for performance in the space and events of the Assembleia. Numerous known and existing oratorios by the composer cannot be definitively identified with court performances and might have served this purpose, such as his *Morte de Abel* (c. 1760),

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<sup>44</sup> P-Lant, Intendência Geral de Polícia, Lv. III, fol. 51v.

<sup>45</sup> P-Lac, BACL 11 803 68 (libretto); Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 145.

<sup>46</sup> See Brito, *Opera in Portugal*; and Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal."



*Gioas, Re di Giuda* (c. 1762), *Isacco, figura del redentore* (c. 1765), *Adamo ed Eva* (libretti were printed in 1772 and 1773), and *Il voto di Jefte* (1771).<sup>47</sup>

After the opening of the São Carlos's Salão Nobre, oratorio performances continued in the other public theaters, especially the Teatro da Rua dos Condes. Such theaters relied on oratorio and other sacred works for income during Lent.<sup>48</sup> The São Carlos, however, immediately surpassed its public theater counterparts in musical resources and prestige, and after its opening, the most significant subsequent oratorio performances in the Portuguese capital—which would have previously been divided between court and public theater contexts—centered on that institution, as evidenced by the extensive 1796 opening season of the Salão Nobre.

Effectively merging the two spheres, public and private, the oratorio repertoire of the São Carlos in its first decade, furthermore, speaks to the theater's catering to public

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<sup>47</sup> Yordanova, "Contributos para o estudo do oratório em Portugal," discusses Avondano's life and career in detail. Her work on Avondano's repertory provides much of the information about the works listed here; nonetheless, my own research on the productive system of court oratorio in this period suggests that the performance of these works at court were, in most cases, doubtful (see Chapter 3). Some documentation exists for the works listed here including printed libretti and, occasionally, manuscripts scores; see Yordanova for an extensive discussion of sources.

<sup>48</sup> Reports of the financial concerns of Lent for public theaters become more prevalent after 1807. A request for permission to present an oratorio and accompanying sacred pantomime at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes that year noted: "The product of these Lenten recitations are a great auxiliary to the Theater because the Italian singers are salaried for twelve months of each year, and when not working in the Theater of S. Carlos during Lent, the Treasury still must pay the Salaries, with grave detriment to the Splendor of the Theater" (O producto das Recitas da Quaresma, saó de hum grande auxillio ao Theatro, por q.' as Partes Italianas saó escripturadas por annos de 12 mezes, e não trabalhando o Theatro de S. Carlos na Quaresma, tem a Caixa de pagar os Sallarios, com grave detrim.<sup>10</sup> do esplendor do Theatro). P-Lant, Ministério do Reino, mç. 992, Cx. 1113, doc. 21.

taste over courtly representational interests. Whereas Maria I had extensively patronized new musical works, tailored in more or less obvious ways to the production and maintenance of her courtly image, the oratorios at the São Carlos—like much of the secular operatic repertoire—sought to produce recent and popular works by renowned Italian composers and librettists, largely leaving aside the predominant production of works by Portuguese composers and librettists, as shown in Table 4.2. Although Portuguese composers, as Cranmer notes, contributed numerous new works to the operatic repertoire of the theater, especially in the period leading up to the French invasions in 1807–1808, this presumably did not include oratorios.<sup>49</sup> This is especially striking considering that court composer António Leal Moreira—who composed the oratorio *Ester* for the court in 1786—was the theater's first director (while simultaneously serving as director of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes since 1790), yet the composer did not apparently write further oratorios for either institution.

**Table 4.2: Known Oratorio Performances at the Teatro de São Carlos (1796–1807)**

Year	Date	Title	Librettist	Composer
1796	February 28	<i>Sant'Elena al calvario</i>	Metastasio	Gaetano Isola
1796	March 6	<i>Debora e Sisara</i>	Carlo Sernicola	Pietro Guglielmi
1796	March 10	<i>La distruzione di Gerusalemme</i>	Carlo Sernicola	Giuseppe Giordanello
1796	March 13	<i>Giuseppe riconosciuto</i>	Metastasio	Gaetano Isola
1797	March 5–April 2 (several performances)	<i>La passione di Gesù Cristo</i>	Metastasio	Giovanni Paisiello
1798	March 11	<i>Il figlio prodigo</i>	Augustinho	Giovanni

<sup>49</sup> Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 1:47–48.

			Giezzi	Longarini
1799	March 3	<i>Miserere Psalmo</i>	Giuseppe Caravita	Niccolò Jommelli
1799	Lent	<i>Giudizio di Salomone</i>	Giuseppe Caravita	Antonio Puzzi
1802	Lent	<i>Debora e Sisara</i>	Carlo Sernicola	Pietro Guglielmi
1804	Lent	<i>La morte di Saule</i>	Giuseppe Caravita	Gaetano Andreozzi
1805	Summer <sup>50</sup>	<i>La distruzione di Gerusalemme</i>	Simeone Antonio Sografi	Pietro Guglielmi
1806	Summer	<i>Debora e Sisara</i>	Carlo Sernicola	Pietro Guglielmi
1807	Lent	<i>Saulle</i>	Giuseppe Caravita	Gaetano Andreozzi

Through the turn of the century, the performance of oratorio seems to have served as a source of income or as a benefit for one of the theater's constituent musicians more than anything else, and certainly no one—neither the singers, nor the theater's resident composers—clamored to participate in the works. In the first several years of performance, in fact, the theater had to hire singers from the Royal Chapel to perform in the oratorios, since the theater's singers, as noted above, utilized the period as a time of rest. In 1797, a full page *Noticia* advertised the first performance of Paisiello's Passion oratorio on March 5 that attests to the status of such works.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> In 1805 and 1806, works once performed as oratorios were apparently staged as *dramma per musica* during the summer season. No Lenten performances are documented in 1805 and 1806. See Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, chronology (vol. 2). Designated a "Dramma Sacro," the 1807 version of *Saulle* was very likely staged in the main theater and not performed in oratorio-style in the Salão Nobre, even in Lent. This last work is discussed below.

<sup>51</sup> P-Ln, T.S.C. LV. 3 (unnumbered pages).

No Domingo, que se hão de contar 5 de Março do presente anno, na Sala Nobre do Real Theatro de S. Calos [sic], em Beneficio de Pasqual Rosseti se ha de Cantar huma Oratoria Sacra da PAIXÃO, que a sua Poesia he de Pedro Metastasio, e a Musica he feita pelo célebre mestre Paisiello para a Real Corte de Napoles, onde teve o maior applauso; e agora será recitada pelas Pessoas seguintes:

Parte de <i>Pedro</i> ,	o Sr. Angelelli.	} <i>Virtuosos da Camera</i>
De <i>Magdalena</i> ,	o Sr. João Baptista Longarini.	} <i>de S. M. Fidelissima.</i>
De <i>João</i> ,	o Sr. Miguel Schira.	
De <i>José</i> ,	o Sr. José Tavani.	
Mais 16 Coristas.		

On Sunday, the 5th of March of the present year, in the Salão Nobre of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, in Benefit of Pasqual Rossetti there will be sung a Sacred PASSION Oratorio, with poetry by Pietro Metastasio, and music by the celebrated Master Paisiello for the Royal Court of Naples, where it received the greatest applause; and now it will be sung by the following Persons:

Part of <i>Peter</i>	Sig. Angelelli	} <i>Virtuosos of her Royal</i>
of <i>Magdalene</i>	Sig. João Baptista Longarini	} <i>Highness's Chamber.</i>
of <i>John</i>	Sig. Miguel Schira	
of <i>Joseph</i>	Sig. José Tavani	
Plus 16 chorus members		

Perhaps in an effort to entice further attendees, the notice further listed a series of musical contributions that would occur during the work's intermission, including a symphony by Gluck "with obbligato Timbales" and an "Instrumental" recitative and sacred aria by António Leal Moreira to be performed by the beneficiary Pasqual Rossetti.<sup>52</sup> All persons with a ticket could also bring a lady to the performance at no charge.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> "No intervalo se tocará huma Sinfonia de Gluch com Timbales obrigados; e logo depois cantará o dito Beneficiado Pasqual Rosseti hum Recitativo de Instrumental, e Aria Sacra, de Composição do Sr. Antonio Leal Moreira, Mestre do Real Seminario de Lisboa; e finda esta se continuará com o resto da Oratoria."

<sup>53</sup> "Adverte se que todas a pessas que tiver Bilhete, poderá levar comsigo huma Senhora sem fazer mais despeza."

After the turn of the century, numerous changes enter into the still developing system of oratorio production at São Carlos. Most notably, by 1805 the production of oratorio gives way to works more akin to sacred opera or *azione sacra*, which were large-scale, staged productions of sacred dramas or oratorios.<sup>54</sup> Such works had become popular in the end of the century in Naples, where Guglielmi's sacred dramas were staged; Guglielmi remained one of the most popular composers in the São Carlos repertoire in this period, and he would eventually arrive in Lisbon around 1807. Such works, obviously, attracted the theater's better performers, and very likely moved the productions to the main stage of the theater. The 1805 performance of Guglielmi's *La distruzione di Gerusalemme*, for instance, featured Angelica Catalani—the theater's prized soprano who regularly sold out performances but had not performed in the oratorios of previous years—in the role of Semira. Though the libretti of many works from this period lack indications of staging, an existing libretto for the 1807 production of *Saulle* includes extensive annotations, handwritten and pasted in the libretto, which give a clear sense of the size and scale of the production—the directions, for instance, include staging movements for groupings of soldiers as well as the proper timing theatrical machinery.<sup>55</sup>

Following the French invasions and flight of the court to Brazil in November 1807, the situation of Lisbon's musical establishment changes so drastically as to constitute the beginning of a completely separate study. With the French occupation of Lisbon, for instance, French authorities produced works of a distinctly Francophile

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<sup>54</sup> See Smither, "Oratorio and Sacred Opera."

<sup>55</sup> P-Ln, T.S.C. 1245 P.

sentiment and even staged works in honor of the Emperor Napoleon at the São Carlos.<sup>56</sup> It is difficult to know what the court made of all this (or if they even knew at all) as they floated across the ocean and established a new Imperial court in Rio de Janeiro. In any case, the oratorio continued on its shifting course in Lisbon without them. Regular productions of oratorio occurred at the São Carlos Theater through at least the early 1820s—while works adopted the more in-vogue staged styles of Naples, they also struggled with the increasing financial weight of the public theater system and oversight of a wary and unstable civic authority and censorial board.<sup>57</sup>

Having been removed from the decorous confines of the court from 1792, oratorio indeed had learned to participate in the scandals of public life, far from the perfectly crafted courtly world of Maria I. To give one closing example: on Sunday, March 13, 1804, the well-known Portuguese composer and then current director of the São Carlos, Marcos Portugal attended an oratorio performance at the theater, probably of Andreozzi and Caravita's *La morte di Saulle*. Unfortunately, however, a subsequent police report, submitted early the next morning, recounted the scandalous events that arose therein between the composer and his mistress (who likely appeared as the female guest, free of admission, entitled to each male ticket holder). The report states:

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<sup>56</sup> Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 1:49–59.

<sup>57</sup> Further study of the documentation of the Real Mesa Censória and Ministério do Reino (both P-Lan) will be required to gain a fuller sense of the oratorio's existence and performance concerns in the post-French Invasion period. A brief survey of these documents suggests that theaters increasingly called on the needs for ticket revenue during the Lenten season to support rising theatrical costs as the impetus behind their productions, while censors also appear to have demanded greater explanation of the theological import and moralizing effect of the drama to be presented.

[Roza Fiorini] went out as a mistress of scandal, with Marcos Antonio Portugal, Professor of Music, and took the liberty to appear last Sunday in the Salão Nobre of the Teatro de S. Carlos, where an Oratorio was sung, with her lover [Portugal] by the arm; as the said Professor is married and yet goes to theaters and on walks with her [Fiorini] and inhabits her house almost always, they have been one or more times reprimanded to abstain from this public scandal, although without redress; [Miss Fiorini] has furthermore been reprimanded for the immodest and indecorous apparel in which she customarily appears in public, which displays naked arms, bare chest, deep red (*cor de carne*, literally the "color of meat") pants, transparent chambray skirts, and for generally scandalizing the Capital - to many disagreeable consequences.<sup>58</sup>

For the offense, Roza Fiorini was ordered to leave the country. Portugal never, apparently, composed any oratorios for the theater.

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<sup>58</sup> P-Lant, Intendencia Geral de Polícia, Lv. 7, fol. 262r. "Ill.<sup>mo</sup> e Ex.<sup>mo</sup> S.<sup>r</sup> Conde de Villa Verde. 14 Março. Em execuçaó do Avizo, que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> me dirigio com ofeixo de 13 do prez.<sup>te</sup>, que recebi pela huma hora da madrugada do dia de hoje, como requerim.<sup>to</sup> incluzo de Roza Fiorini, Vou cumprir com a Real Ordem, e informar o motivo porq.<sup>e</sup> a mandei recolher á prizaó. A Supp.<sup>te</sup> andava amancebada com escandalo, com Marcos Antonio Portugal, Professor de Musica, e teve a liberdade de aparecer Domingo proximo na Salla Nobre do Theatro de S. Carlos, onde se cantou a Oratoria, com o seu Mancebo pelo braço; sendo o dito Professor cazado, e andando com ella pelos Theatros, e passeios, e quazi sempre habitando na propria Caza da Supp.<sup>te</sup>; pelo que teve hum e outro sido reprehendidos, p.<sup>a</sup> s'abstereme deste publico escandalo, porem sem emenda; assim como igualm.<sup>te</sup> do immodesto, e indecorozo trage com que a Supp.<sup>te</sup> costumava andar de brassos núe, peitos á mostra, pantalonas cór de Carne, saias de Cambraia transparente, com que escandalizava os habilitantes desta Capital; o que traz comsigo consequencias desagradaveis. . . ."

## CONCLUSION

### From New Rome to the New World

There is perhaps no "appropriate" musical ceremony, at least not in the sense of suitable courtly spectacle, when you're fleeing across the sea. The royal family suffered several long months on the journey, with as many of its belongings—including printed libretti, music, and instruments—packaged up and stored in the massive ships that carried them across the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup> Many of the court's musicians, and those nobility who could press their way on, sat on the ships much like the rest of the royal luggage as the court drifted to safety. Stepping off the ships in Rio de Janeiro in March 1808 (following a quick stop off in Bahia), however, the court and its accompanying constituents were thrust into a universe wholly unknown to them—the dense tropical climate, the mixed community of Portuguese and European nobles and African slaves, the complete and utter absence of the ceremony and tradition of Old Regime Europe. In a sweeping twist of fate, João V's visions of a New Rome early in the eighteenth century gave way to the New World.

A number of the most important printed sources for oratorio performance in eighteenth-century Portugal today are found in Brazil, most of them transplanted during this great transatlantic voyage. For instance, nearly all the printed imprints from the 1719–1723 oratorios and villancicos discussed in Chapter 1, as well as many of the

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<sup>1</sup> Many studies have examined the flight of the Portuguese court and subsequent period in Brazil from a historical perspective. See, for instance: Gomes, *1808*; Patrick Wilcken, *Empire Adrift: The Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro 1808–1821* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004); Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001); and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Vida privada e quotidiano no Brasil na época de D. Maria I e D. João VI*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993).



printed libretti for the newly composed oratorios for the court of Maria I examined in Chapter 2, are housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the former, the documents were transferred as part of the valuable former collection of Diogo Barbosa Machado—a Portuguese priest, writer, and collector—who offered a large corpus of early eighteenth-century books and prints to José I after the royal library was consumed by the 1755 earthquake.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the latter, the documents no doubt formed part of the royal music library that was packed up and stowed away on the ships. While oratorios continued in Lisbon after the court's departure, no research has yet revealed the production of oratorio in Imperial Rio de Janeiro, though research on this front is practically nonexistent.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not the works were ever performed in the

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup> The collection of Barbosa Machado is today one of the richest in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro; see Horch, *Vilancicos da Coleção Barbosa Machado*.

<sup>4</sup> Kühl has begun to explicate the production of operatic spectacle at the court in Brazil in the early nineteenth century. See "Opera e celebração: os espetáculos da corte portuguesa no Brasil." *Acervo, Rio de Janeiro* 21, no. 1 (January–June 2008), 97–114. A preliminary chronology of opera performances in Brazil, completed by Kühl in 2003 (Kühl, "Cronologia da Ópera no Brasil – século XIX," <http://www.iar.unicamp.br/cepab/opera/cronologia.pdf>), reveals two oratorio performances on March 11 and March 25, 1824, at the Teatro São João (built by the court in Rio de Janeiro in 1813). The oratorios—*Oratorio de Santa Cecilia* and *Oratorio de S. Hermenegildo*—are of unknown authorship. Only brief references to the performances in printed journals from the period exist today. The latter of these two performances appears to have made the news because it resulted in the complete destruction of the theater when the scenery caught fire: "The oratorio on the life of Santo Hermenegildo was presented and, in the moment that the saint was raised to glory, it happened that the scenery caught fire and with such violence that only the people had time to escape, surrounded by flames on all sides, and reducing the theater to ashes in less than two hours. In the middle of this catastrophe, we are pleased to have heard that no one died" (Representou-se a oratória a vida de Santo Hermenegildo e, no momento de subir à glória do santo, aconteceu pegar fogo no cenário, e com tal violência, que apenas deu lugar para sair o povo, arrebatado as chamas por todos os lados, e reduzindo o teatro a cinzas em menos de duas horas. No meio desta catástrofe [tivemos?] a prazer de ouvir dizer que ninguém morreu).

New World, the cross-sea transfer of the documents suggests their importance. The printed early eighteenth-century oratorio texts are cultural artifacts—relics of a distant past, but a past that the court seems to have recognized as valuable and clung to in its moment of utmost desperation.

Acts of historical writing and reading such as I have endeavored to produce here necessarily privilege a widespread intellectual engagement that is perhaps only possible with the remove of over 200 years. Perhaps the court didn't have any idea what was actually in the boxes of the music library. Perhaps they would have tossed each and every oratorio document promptly overboard had they the time or the luxury to be selective. Yet, having surveyed a shifting and turbulent 100 years of production, it seems that at each turn a patron emerged that recognized the potential for meaning and power embodied in the oratorio's liminal status as music at the edges of religion, politics, and drama. No doubt others remain to be discovered, both in Portugal and in the New World.

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Transcribed from the *Diario de Rio de Janeiro* on March 26, 1824, in Kühl, "Cronologia," 23 (note 105). Perhaps because of the fire no known musical or textual sources have been discovered, though the performance of these two works suggests the need for further study.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Chronology of Oratorio Performances and Sources<sup>1</sup>

#### A. KNOWN CONTEXT, LOCATION, AND/OR DATE

**1719**

*Sé Cathedral, Lisbon*

**January 21**

**Villancicos (8 total), S. Vicente**

VILLANCICOS / QUE SE CANTARON CON / varios instrume[n]tos, el dia 21. de Enero, / EN LOS MAITINES DEL / Glorioso, Invicto, Martir / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS: / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente / SIENDO MAYORDOMOS, / Los Señores Canonigos; / JOSEPH FEYO / DE CASTELBRANCO, / Y HIERONIMO LEYTE, / MALLEYROS: / y Maestro de Capilla de dicha Iglesia, el Ra- / cionero Francisco de Costa, y Sylva. / COMPUSO LOS METROS, / LUIS CALIXTO DE COSTA, / Y FARIA. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, / En la Impre[n]ta de Musica Año 1719. / Con las licencias necesarias.

Composer(s): D. Francisco Joseph Coutinho (1), D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau (2), Rev. Francisco da Costa e Silva (3), Fr. Henrique Carlos (4), Francisco da Costa e Silva (5, 6), Andrés da Costa (7), D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau (8)

MS: N/A

Text(s): Luis Calixto de Costa y Faria

Printed Text Sources: P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn

Other:

Note printed after villancico texts: "Será continuacion de estos Cultos un Oratorio, q[ue] / se cantará mañana por la tarde, con q[ue] se fi- / naliza la fiesta del Señor S. Vicente."

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the performances at the Teatro de São Carlos from 1796, I have reserved sources for performances that took place in Lisbon's other public theaters (Teatro da Rua dos Condes, for instance) for future study. Those works cited in Chapter 4 do not appear in the chronology here. The sources and performances included here are those that bear some relationship to court musical circles, ceremony, or practice.

Abbreviations used in this section include MS (music manuscript) and GL (*Gazeta de Lisboa*), as well as SATB for performers' vocal parts. Where available, I provide the names and vocal parts for performers, though often these details could not be found.

**January 22**  
**Oratorio, S. Vicente**

ORATORIO / Que se canto, con various instrumentos, en / 22. de Enero: Fiesta del glorio- / so, Invicto, Martir, / S. VICENTE; / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS: / SIENDO MAYORDOMOS / Los Señores, Arcediano de Santaren / HIERONIMO LEYTE, / MALLEYROS, / Y JOSEPH FEYO / DE CASTELBRANCO, / Canonigo de dicha Cathedral, y su Maestro / de Capilla el Racionero Francisco de / Costa, y Sylva. / Compuso los Metros el Señor Canonigo / JULIAN MACIEL; / Y LA MUSICA, / D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, / En la Impre[n]ta de Musica Año 1719. / Con las licencias necessarias.

Composer: Jayme de la Té y Sagau  
 MS: N/A

Text: Julian Maciel  
 Text Sources: P-Ln, P-EVp, P-Cug, BR-Rn

## 1720

*Sé Cathedral, Lisbon*

**January 21**  
**Villancicos (8 total), S. Vicente**

VILLANCICOS / QUE SE CANTARON CON / varios instrume[n]tos, el dia 21. de Enero, / EN LOS MAITINES DEL / Glorioso, Invicto, Martyr, / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS: / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del / Oriente. / SIENDO MAYORDOMOS, / Los Señores / JUAN CEZAR DE MENEZES / DEAN, / Y SILVESTRE DE SOUZA SOARES / CANONIGO, / y Maestro de Capilla de la dicha Igle- / sia el Quartanario Francisco da / Costa, y Silva / COMPUZIERON LOS METROS, / LOS MEJORES INGENIOS DE / Portugal y Castilla. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, / En la Imprenta de Mathias Pereyra de Sylva, y Juan Antunes Pedrozo. / Con las licencias necessarias Año 1720.

Composer(s): Francisco da Costa e Silva (1, 8), D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau (2), Fr. Antão de Santo Elias (3), Manoel Ferrer (4), D. Juan Galvan, (5), Fr. Manuel dos Santos (6), Antonio Literes (7)  
 MS: N/A

Text(s): Anonymous ("los mejores ingenios de Portugal y Castilla")  
 Printed Text Sources: P-Ln, BR-Rn

**January 22**  
**Oratorio, S. Vicente**

ORATORIO / QUE SE CANTO', CON VARIOS IN- / strumentos, en 22. de Enero: Fiesta del / Glorioso, Invicto, Martir, / S. VICENTE; / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS: / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del / Oriente. / Siendo Mayordomos Los Señores, / DEAN JUAN CESAR DE / MENESES; / Y SYLVESTRE DE SOUSA / SOARES, / Canonigo de dicha Cathedral; y su maestro / de Capilla el Quartanario Franciso de / Costa, y Silva. / COMPUSO LA MUSICA / DON ANTONIO LITERES; / Musico de la Real Capilla de Madrid. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, / En la Imprenta de Musica Año 1720. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer: Antonio Literes  
 Music Source: N/A

Text: Anonymous  
 Text Sources: P-Ln, P-EVp, BR-Rn

Personages:  
     EL AMOR [S]  
     LA LUSITANIA [S]  
     EL CULTO [A]  
     LA EMBIDIA INFERNAL [T]

## 1721

*Sé Cathedral, Lisbon*

**January 21**  
**Villancicos (8 total), S. Vicente**

VILLANCICOS / QUE SE CANTARON CON / varios instrume[n]tos, el dia 21. de Enero, / EN LOS MAYTINES DEL / Glorioso, Invicto, Martyr. / S. VICENTE; / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS; / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente. Sie[n]do / Mayordomos los Señores, Canonigos; / THOME ESTOFFO FERREYRA, / Y / JUAN SYNEL DE CORDES: / Y Maestro de Cappilla. / El Quartanario / FRANCISCO DE COSTA, Y SYLVA. / Compuso los Metros / LUIS CALISTO DE COSTA, / Y FARIA. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica Año de 1721. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer(s): D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau (1, 3, 5, and 7); Francisco de Costa, y Silva (2, 4, 6, and 8)  
 MS: N/A

Text: Luis Calisto de Costa, y Faria  
Text Sources: P-Ln

Other:

Note printed after villancico texts: "Serà continuacion de estes cultos un Oratorio, q[ue] se cantará mañana por la tarde, con q[ue] se finaliza la fiesta del Señor San Vicente."

**January 22**

**Oratorio, S. Vicente [Repeat 1719]**

ORATORIO / QUE SE CANTO, CON VARIOS IN- / strumentos, en 22. de Enero de 1721. / Fiesta del Glorioso, Invicto, Martyr, / S. VICENTE; / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS. / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente. Sie[n]do / Mayordomos los Señores, Canonigos / THOME ESTOFFO FERREYRA, / Y / JUAN SYNEL DE CORDES: / Y Maestro de Cappilla. / El Quartanario / FRANCISCO DE COSTA, Y SYLVA. / Compuso los Metros el Señor / Canonigo / JULIAN MACIEL. / Y La Musica, / D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica Año 1721. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer: Jayme de la Té y Sagau  
MS: N/A

Text: Julian Maciel  
Text Sources: P-Ln

**1722**

*Real Convento de Nossa Senhora de la Esperança, Lisbon*

**January 9**

**Villancicos (8 total), S. Gonçalo**

VILLANCICOS, / QUE SE CANTARON / En la Iglesia del Real Convento de N. S. / de la Esperança, en los Maytines, y / Fiesta del prodigioso / S. GONÇALO / DE AMARANTE, / Que lo dedica su Ilustre hermandad, / de que es Juez perpetuo / D. LOURENÇO DE ALMADA, / del Consejo del Rey, y su Maestro Sala. / HIZO LOS METROS / EL REVERENDO / P. Fr. JOSEPH DE EGYPTO. / Religioso del Convento de los Observantes / de S. Francisco de la Ciudad. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica. Anno 1722. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer(s): D. Francisco Joseph Coutiño (1), D. Jayme de la Tê, y Sagau (2), El Padre Juan da Sylva Moraes (3, 4, 7), El Padre Estevan Ribeiro Francés (5), Andrès de Acosta (5), Henrique Carlos (8)

MS: N/A

Text: José do Egito

Text Sources: P-Ln, BR-Rn

**January 10**

**Oratorio, S. Gonçalo**

ORATORIO / QUE SE CANTO / En la Iglesia del Real Convento de N. S. / de la Esperança, en los Maytines, y / Fiesta del prodigioso / S. GONÇALO / DE AMARANTE, / Que le dedica su Ilustre hermandad, / de que es Juez perpetuo / D. LOURENÇO DE ALMADA, / del Consejo del Rey, y su Maestro Sala. / HIZO LOS METROS / El Señor Canonigo, / JULIAN MACIEL; / Y LA MUSICA / D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica. Anno 1722. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer: Jayme de la Te y Sagau

MS: N/A

Text: Julian Maciel

Text Sources: BR-Rn

*Sé Cathedral, Lisbon*

**January 21**

**Villancicos (8 total), S. Vicente**

VILLANCICOS, / QUE SE CANTARON CON / varios instrumentos el dia / 21. de Enero, / En los Maytines del Glorioso, Invicto, / Martir / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS: / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del / Oriente / Siendo Mayordomos los Señores Canonigos / ANTONIO ANDRE, Y D. JUAN DE ALMEYDA, / y Maestro de Capilla, el Quartanario / Francisco da Costa, y Sylva. / COMPUSO LOS METROS, / LUIS CALIXTO DA COSTA, / y Faria. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, / En la Imprenta de Musica. Año 1722. / Con las licencias necesarias.

Composer(s): D. Jayme de la Tê, y Sagáu (1, 5); D. Juan Galvany (2); Andres de Acosta (3); D. Francisco Joseph Coutiño (4), Francisco de Acosta, y Sylva (6, 8), Fray Anton de San Elyas (7)

MS: N/A

Text: Luis Calixto da Costa, y Faria

Text Sources: P-Ln



**January 22**

**Oratorio, S. Vicente [Repeat 1719]**

ORATORIO / QUE SE CANTO, / Con varios instrumentos, em 22. de / Enero: Fiesta del glorioso, Invi- / cto, Martir, / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS, / en la Metropolitana Cathedral del / Oriente. / SIENDO MAYORDOMOS / Los Señores Canonigos / ANTONIO ANDRE, / Y / D. JUAN DE ALMEYDA, / y Maestro de Capilla, el Quartanario / FRANCISCO DE COSTA, y SYLVA. / Compuso los Metros el Señor Canonigo / JULIAN MACIEL; / Y LA MUSICA, / D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica. Año de 1722. / *Con licencia de los Superiores.*

Composer: Jayme de la Té y Sagau  
MS: N/A

Text: Julian Maciel  
Text Sources: P-Ln, P-EVp, P-Cug

*S. Girolamo della Carità, Rome (Italy)*

**Lent [Second Sunday]**

***Il pentimento di Davide, componimento Sagro***

IL PENTIMENTO / DI / DAVIDDE / *COMPONIMENTO SAGRO* / DI ANDREA TRABUCCO / Accademico ravvivato di Benevento, detto fra gli / Arcadi di Roma ALBIRO MIRTUNZIANO; *POSTO IN MUSICA DAL SIG.* / FRANCESCO ANTONIO / *DI ALMEIDA PORTUGHESE*, / E da cantarsi nella seconda Domenica di Quaresima, / nella Ven. Chiesa di S. Girolamo della Carità. / *AL REVERENDISSIMO PADRE* / D. DIEGO CURADO / *Della Congregazione dell' Oratorio, Consultore / del Tribunale del S. Ufizio ne' Regni / di Portogallo &c.* / IN ROMA, per Antonio de' Rossi, nella strada del Seminario / Romano, vicino alla Rotonda. 1722. / *CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*

Composer: Francisco António de Almeida  
MS: N/A

Librettist: Andrea Trabucco  
Libretto Sources: CDN-Ttfl

Personages:

DAVIDDE, *Rè*  
NATAN, *Profeta*  
BERSABEA, *Moglie di Davide*  
ACAB, *Confidente di Davide*

## 1723

*Sé Cathedral, Lisbon*

**January 21**

**Villancicos, S. Vicente**

VILLANCICOS, / QUE SE CANTARON CON VARIOS / Instrumentos, el día 21. de Enero, / en los Maytines del Glorioso, / Invicto, Martyr. / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS, EN / la Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente. / Siendo Mayordomos los Señores Dignidades / FRANCISCO PERY DE LINDE, / Chantre, / Y / SEBASTIAN ESTOFF, MAESTRO / Escuela, / Maestro de Capilla, el Quartanario Francisco / de Costa, y Sylva. / COMPUSO LOS METROS, / LUIS CALIXTO DE COSTA, / y Faria. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica. Año de 1723. / Con licencia de los Superiores.

Composer(s): D. Francisco Joseph Coutiño (1); El Baron Don Emanuel de Astorga (2, 3);  
D. Jayme de la Tè, y Sagàu (4, 5, 7); Francisco de Costa y Silva (6, 8)

Score sources: N/A

MS: N/A

Text: Luis Calixto de Costa, y Faria

Text Sources: P-Ln

Note printed on second page of text: "Serà continuacion de estos cultos un Oratorio, que se cantará mañana por la tarde, con que se finaliza la fiesta el Señor San Vicente."

**January 22**

**Oratorio, S. Vicente [Repeat 1719]**

ORATORIO, / QUE SE CANTO CON VARIOS / Instrumentos, en 22. de Enero : Fiesta / del Glorioso, Invicto, Martyr, / S. VICENTE, / PATRON DE AMBAS LISBOAS, EN / la Metropolitana Cathedral del Oriente, / Siendo Mayordomos los Señores Dignidades / FRANCISCO PERY DE LINDE, / Chantre, / Y / SEBASTIAN ESTOFF, MAESTRO / Escuela, / y Maestro de Capilla, el Quartanario Francisco / de Costa, y Sylva. / Compuso los Metros el señor Canonigo / JULIAN MACIEL, / Y LA MUSICA, / D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU. / LISBOA OCCIDENTAL. / En la Imprenta de Musica. Año de 1723. / Con licencia de los Superiores. / Quarta impression.

Composer: D. Jayme de la Te y Sagau

MS: N/A

Text: Julian Maciel

Text Sources: P-Ln

## 1726

*Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella), Rome (Italy)*

[Lent?]

***La Giuditta, Oratorio***

LA / GIUDITTA / ORATORIO / *POSTO IN MUSICA* / DAL SIG. FRANCESCO ANTONIO / D' ALMEYDA, / E da cantarsi nell' 'Oratorio de' Padri / della Chiesa Nuova / L' ANNO MDCCXXVI / DEDICATO / *All' Illustrissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Signore* / IL SIG. D. ANDREA / DE MELO DE CASTRO / Ambasciatore Ordinario della Maestà del Rè / di Portogallo. / IN ROMA, Per Gaetano Zenobj, Stampatore, e Intagliatore / di Sua Santità. / *CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI*.

Composer: Francisco António de Almeida  
MS: D-B

Librettist: Anonymous  
Libretto: D-Mbs

Personages:  
GIUDITTA  
OZIA, *Prencipe di Betulia*  
OLOFERNE  
ACHIORRE, *Capitano del'Ammoniti*

## 1747

*Porto (Portugal)*

**September 11**  
**"Oratorio" (for five voices)**

Composer: N/A  
MS: N/A

Librettist: N/A  
Libretto: N/A

Source: Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 40, October 5, 1747.

## C. 1748

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

**Unknown Date**

***Sacrificio d'Isacco, oratorio***

Composer: Gaetano Maria Schiassi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

Other sources: I-Bc, I.004.023, I.004.024 [Letters to Padre Martini]

## 1769

*Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon*

**March 19**

**"Oratorio da Paixão" (Passion Oratorio)**

Composer: N/A

MS: N/A

Librettist: [Metastasio?]

Libretto: N/A

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3502

Performers:

Carlos Reina [S]

João Baptista Vasquez [S]

José Rampino [S]

Taddeo Puzzi [B]

## 1772

*Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon*

**March 19**

**"Serenata, ou Oratoria" (Serenata, or Oratorio)**

Composer: N/A

MS: N/A

Librettist: N/A

Libretto: N/A

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3100

Performers:

Carlos Reina [S]

João Baptista Vasquez [S]

José Rampino [S]

João Ripa [S]

Luiz Torriani [T]

Taddeo Puzzi [B]

## 1778

*Palácio de Queluz, Sintra (Portugal)*

**March 31**

***Gioas, Rè di Giuda, sacro componimento drammatico***

Composer: António da Silva [Gomes e Oliveira]

MS: P-La, 48-III-18, 48-V-21 (2 copies of same work)

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: P-Ln, P-Cug, BR-Rn

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3107, Lv. 503, Lv. 504

Personages/Performers:

GIOAS, *piccolo fanciullo, erede del regno di Giuda, ed unico avanzo della stirpe di David, sotto nome d'Osea, figliuolo di Ochosa, e di [Sebia]* - Carlos Reina [S]

SEBIA, *di Bersabea Vedoav de Ochosa* - Giuseppe Orti [S]

ATHALIA, *Ava di Gioas, Usurpatrice del trono di Giuda* - Giovanni Ripa [S]

GIOJADA, *sommo Sacerdote degli Ebrei* - Luigi Torriani [T]

MATHAN, *idolatra, sacerdote del tempio di Baal, confidente d'Athalia* - Taddeo Puzzi [B]

ISMAELE, *uno de' capi de' Leviti confidente di Giojada* - Ansano Ferracuti [A]

CORO DI LEVITI

## 1780

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

**"Oratória da Paixão" (Passion Oratorio)**

Composer: N/A [Niccolò Jommelli?]

MS: N/A

Librettist: [Metastasio?]

Libretto: N/A

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 505

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

**"Miserere"**

Composer: N/A [Niccolò Jommelli?]

MS: P-EVp

Librettist: [Saverio Mattei?]

Libretto: N/A

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 505

## 1782

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

***Gioas, Rè di Giuda* [Repeat 1778]**

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 506

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

**"Stabat Mater"**

Composer: Joseph Haydn

MS: N/A

Libretto: N/A

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Lv. 504, Lv. 506

## 1783

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

***Il Passione di Gesù Christo, oratorio sacro***

LA PASSIONE / DI / GESÙ CRISTO / SIGNOR NOSTRO / *ORATORIO SACRO* / DA /  
CANTARSI NEL REAL PALAZZO / DELL'AJUDA / PER FESTEGGIARE L' /  
AUGUSTO NOME / DEL SERENISSIMO SIGNORE / D. GIUSEPPE / PRINCIPE /  
DEL BRASILE / LI 19. MARZO 1783. / NELLA STAMPERIA REALE.

Composer: Luciano Xavier dos Santos

MS: P-La, 48-III-9/10

Librettist Metastasio

Libretto: P-Cul, P-EVp

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124, Lv. 507, Lv. 508

Personages/Performers:

PIETRO - Carlos Reina [S]

GIOVANNI - Fedele Venturi [S]

MADDALENA - Giovanni Ripa [S]

GIUSEPPE *d'Arimatea* - Luigi Torriani [T]

CORO DE' SEGUACI DI GESÙ

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

***Salome, madre de sette martiri maccabei, oratorio sacro***

SALOME / MADRE DE SETTE MARTIRI/MACCABEI / ORATORIO SACRO / DA  
CANTARSI NEL REAL PALAZZO / DELL'AJUDA/ PER CELEBRARE L'AUGUSTO  
NOME / DELLA SERERNISSIMA SIGNORA / D. MARIA / FRANCESCA  
BENEDETTA / PRINCIPESSA DEL BRASILE / LI 21. MARZO 1783 / NELLA  
STAMPERIA REALE.

Composer: João Cordeiro da Silva

MS: P-La, 48-VI-14/15

Librettist: Gaetano Martinelli

Libretto: BR-Rn, I-Rsc<sup>2</sup>

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3124; Lv. 507; Lv. 508.

Personages/Performers:

SALOME, *Madre de' sette martiri maccabei* - Carlos Reina [S]

GIACOBBE *Maccabeo, figlio minore della sudetta* - Giovanni Ripa [S]

ANTIOCO *Idolatra, e Tiranno, Re di Gerusalemme* - Luigi Torriani [T]

MATATIA, *Uomo saggio Israelita della famiglia degl'Asmonei* - Ansano Ferracuti [A]

SIMONE, *figlio del suddetto* - Fedele Venturi [S]

## 1784

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

***Il ritorno di Tobia, oratorio sacro***

IL RITORNO / DI TOBIA / ORATORIO SACRO / DA CANTARSI NEL REAL PALAZZO / DELL' AJUDA / PER CELEBRARE L' AUGUSTO NOME / DEL SERENISSIMO SIGNORE / DON GIUSEPPE / PRINCIPE DEL BRASILE / LI 10. MARZO 1784. NELLA STAMPERIA REALE.

Composer: Joseph Haydn

MS: N/A

Librettist: Giovanni Gastone Boccherini

Libretto: BR-Rn, P-Ln, P-EVp

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3131; Lv. 507; Lv. 508.

Personages/Performers:

TOBIL - Innocenzo Schettini [S]

ANNA *sua Moglie* - Ansano Ferracuti [A]

TOBIA *loro figlio* - Carlos Reina [S]

SARA *sua Moglie* - Giovanni Ripa [S]

<sup>2</sup> Kühl notes that, as of his writing, the BR-Rn source could not be located ("Os libretos de Gaetano Martinelli."). Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, also cites a copy at P-Ln, but the library was unable to locate any corresponding libretto in their collections at the time of my writing.



ANGELO RAFAELE *sotto nome di Azaria* - Vincenzo Marini [S]  
CORO

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

***Gioas, Rè di Giuda* [Repeat 1778, 1782]**

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3131; Lv. 507; Lv. 508.

## 1785

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

***Il trionfo di Davidde, oratorio sacro***

IL TRIONFO / DI DAVIDDE / ORATORIO SACRO / DA CANTARSI / NEL REAL  
PALAZZO DELL' AJUDA / PER CELEBRARE / L'AUGUSTO NOME / DEL  
SERENISSIMO SIGNORE / DON GIUSEPPE / PRINCIPE DEL BRASILE / LI 19.  
MARZO 1785. / NELLA STAMPERIA REALE.

Composer: Braz Francisco de Lima

MS: P-La, 48-1-30/31

Librettist: Gaetano Martinelli

Libretto: P-Cul, BR-Rn, I-Rsc, US-Wc

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3137; Lv. 508; Lv. 509

Personages/Performers:

DAVIDDE, *giovane pastore* - Carlos Reina [S]

SAULE, *Re degl'Isdraeliti* - Luigi Torriani [T]

GIONATA, *figlio di Saule* - Giovanni Ripa [S]

ELIABO, *fratello di Davidde* - Vincenzo Marini [S]

GOLIAT, *gigante Filisteo* - Taddeo Puzzi [B]

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

***Salome, madre dei sette martiri maccabei* [Repeat 1783]**

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3137; Lv. 508; Lv. 509.

## 1786

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

***Ester, oratorio sacro***

ESTER / ORATORIO SACRO / DA CANTARSI / NEL REAL PALAZZO DELL' AJUDA / PER CELEBRARE / L'AUGUSTO NOME / DEL SERENISSIMO SIGNORE DON GIUSEPPE / PRINCIPE DEL BRAZILE / LI 19 MARZO 1786. / NELLA STAMPERIA REALE

Composer: Antonio Leal Moreira

MS: P-La, 48-II-18/19

Librettist: Gaetano Martinelli

Libretto: BR-Rn, I-Rsc, P-EVp

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3143, Lv. 508, Lv. 509

Personages/Performers:

ASSUERO, *Re di Persia* - Carlos Reina [S]

ESTER, *Regina sua Consorte, di nazione Isdraelita* - Giovanni Ripa [S]

AMAN, *primo Ministro, e favorito di Assuero, nemico di Mardocheò, e persecutore del popolo Ebreo* - Luigi Torriani [T]

MARDOCHÈO, *Isdraelita, Zio della Regina Ester, e Soprintendente delle Guardie Reali nella Reggia di Assuero* - Ansano Ferracuti [A]

HARBONA, *confidente di Assuero* - Vincenzo Marini [S]

ATHACH, *principale Eunuco della Regina Ester* - Vincenzo Marini suddetto [S]

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**

***Il trionfo di Davidde* [Repeat 1785]**

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3143; Lv. 508; Lv. 509.

## 1790

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 19**

***Oratoria da Paixão (Passion Oratorio)***

Composer: Niccolò Jommelli  
MS: N/A

Librettist: Metastasio  
Libretto: N/A

Source: P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3156, Lv. 511

## 1791

*Palácio da Ajuda*

**March 21**  
***Ester* [Repeat 1786]**

Other Source(s): P-Lant, Casa Real, Cx. 3160; Lv. 511

## 1793

*Real Casa Pia, Castelo de São Jorge, Lisbon*

**May 14**  
***La preghiera esaudita, oratorio***

LA PREGHIERA ESAUDITA: / ORATORIO / DA CANTARSI / NELLA REAL CASA PIA / DEL / CASTELLO DI SAN GIORGIO / DI LISBONA / IN OCCASIONE DELLE PUBBLICHE FESTE / DEL FELICISSIMO PARTO / DI SUA ALTEZA SERENISSIMA / D. CARLOTTA GIOACHINA / PRINCIPESSA DEL BRASILE / CELEBRATE IL DI 14 MAGGIO 1793. / IN SEGNO DI UMILE OBSEQUIO / DA DIOGO IGNAZION / DE PINA MANIQUE, / Cavaliere de la Réggia de Sua Maestá Fedelissima, del suo / Consiglio, Commendatore de l' Ordine de Cristo, Senatore / del Palazzo, Intendente Generale de Politica de la Cor- / te e Regno, Amministratore Generale de la Dogana / Maggiore de la Città de Lisbona, e Fattore Supre- / mo dell' altre Dogane del Regno, cet. cet. / LISBONA / Nella Stamperia de Antonio Rodrigo Galhardo. / Com licenza della Real Mensa della Commissione Gene- / rale sopra l' Esame, e Censura de' Libri.

Composer: Giovanni Cavi  
MS: N/A

Librettist: Giovanni Gerardo de Rossi  
Libretto: P-Ln, P-La, P-EVp, P-Cul

Other sources: Menezes, *Memorias Historicas*; Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 20, May 18, 1793.

Personages/Performers:

L'ANGELO *Tutelare del Regno* - Giovanni Gelati [S]

LA FELICITÀ - Luisa Todi [Mezzo Soprano]

L' ABBONDANZA - Giuseppe Capranica [S]

LA PACE - Leonardo Martini [A?]

IL TAGO - Giuseppe Forlivesi [T]

Per rinforzare i Cori - Antonio Puzzi [B]

## 1796

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**February 28**

***Sant'Elena al calvario, oratorio [GL]***

Composer: Gaetano Isola

MS: N/A

Librettist: [Metastasio]

Libretto: [P-Ln, I-Rsc]\*

Other source: Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 8, February 27, 1796.\*\*

Personages:

SANTELENA

S. MACARIO

DRACILIANO

EUDOSA

EUSTAZIO

\*These libretti were printed in Lisbon in 1791 [Nella Stamperia di Simone Taddeo Ferreira] and identify Gaetano Isola as composer and Metastasio as librettist; the imprints do not, however, specify a performance context or location.

\*\*The advertisement in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* identifies the composer.

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 6**

***Debora e Sisara, componimento sacro [libretto], oratorio [GL]***

DEBORA E SISARA: / COMPONENTO SACRO / DESTINATO CANTARSI /  
NELLA NUOVA SALA / DELLA ASSEMBLEA / NEL REGGIO TEATRO / DI S.

CARLO, / DELLA PRINCIPESSA / Nella quarta Domenica de Quaresima 6 di / Marzo dell' anno 1796. / MUSICA / DEL SIG. PIETRO GUGLIELMI. LISBONA. M. DCC. LXXXVI. / NELLA STAMPERIA DI SIMONE TADDEO FERREIRA.

Composer: Pietro Guglielmi  
MS: N/A

Librettist: Carlo Sernicola  
Libretto: P-Cug, P-Cul, I-Rsc

Other source: Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 8, February 27, 1796.

Personages:

DEBORA *Profetessa, e Giudice degl' Israeliti.*  
SISARA *Generale del Re Giabino.*  
ALCIMO *di lui figlio.*  
GIAELE *Moglie di Aber.*  
BARAC *Capitano degl' Israeliti.*  
ARASPE *Confidente di Sisara, e di Alcimo.*  
ABER CINEO *Marito di Giaele.*

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 10**

***La distruzione di Gerusalemme, oratorio [GL]***

Composer: Giovanni Giordaniello\*  
MS: N/A

Librettist: [Carlo Sernicola]  
Libretto: N/A

Source: Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 8, February 27, 1796.

\*The advertisement in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* identifies the composer.

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 13**

***Giuseppe riconosciuto, oratorio [GL]***

Composer: Gaetano Isola  
MS: N/A

Librettist: [Metastasio?]  
 Libretto: N/A<sup>3</sup>

Source: Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 8, February 27, 1796.

## 1797

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 5–April 2 (multiple performances)**

***La passione di Gesù Cristo, componimento sacro***

Title page of March 5 libretto:

LA PASSIONE / DI / GESU CHRISTO: / COMPONENTO SACRO / DESTINATO  
 CANTARSI / NELLA NUOVA SALA / DELLA ASSEMBLEA / NEL REGIO  
 TEATRO / DI / S. CARLO, / DELLA PRINCIPESSA / Nella Quaresima 5 di Marzo  
 dell'anno 1797. / MUSICA / DEL SIG. MAESTRO PAISIELLO. / LISBONA.  
 M.DCC.LXXXVII. / NELLA STAMPERIA DI SIMONE TADDEO FERREIRA. /  
*Com Licença da Meza do Desembargo do Paço.*

Composer: Giovanni Paisiello

MS: P-Ln, C.N. 332/333; P-La, 47-VIII-23

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: P-Ln, P-Cul, P-Cug\*

Other sources: Printed advertisement for March 5 performance [P-Ln, T.S.C. LV. 3, unnumbered pages]; Second Supplement to the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 8, April 1, 1797.\*\*

Personages/Performers:

PIETRO - Francesco Angelelli [S]

MADDALENA - Giovanni Battista Longarini [S]

GIOVANNI - Michele Schira [T]

GIUSEPPE D'ARIMATEA - Giuseppe Tavani [B]

CORO DE SEGUACI DI GESÙ

\*Printed libretto includes both the Italian text and a side-by-side Portuguese translation.

<sup>3</sup> Cranmer cites two libretti [P-Cug, I-Rsc] printed in Lisbon exist from c. 1791. I was unable to locate these libretti; an undated printed Portuguese translation of the text (*José reconhecido*; P-Cug, Misc. 563) has no apparent connection to the performance here. Cranmer also suggests in *Opera in Portugal* (2:247–248) that Gaetano Isola may have traveled to Lisbon around 1791 and conducted the first performances of *Sant'Elena al calvario* and *Giuseppe riconosciuto* there.

\*\*The advertisement notes that the final performance of the work would take place on April 2, indicating perhaps other performances between March 5 and April 2.<sup>4</sup>

## 1798

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 11**

***Il figliuol prodigo, drama sacro***

IL FIGLIUOL PRODIGO / DRAMMA SACRO / DA CANTARSI / NELLA NOBIL SALA / NEL REGIO TEATRO / DI / S. CARLO / DELLA PRINCIPESSA / Nella Domenica 11 di Marzo dell' Anno 1798. / LISBONA. M.DCC.LXXXXVIII. / NELLA STAMPERIA DI SIMONE TADDEO FERREIRA. / *Com Licença da Meza do Desembargo do Paço.*

Composer: Giovanni Battista Longarini<sup>5</sup>

MS: N/A

Librettist: Agostino Giezzi ("Accademico Georgio")

Libretto: P-Cug, P-Cul\*

Personages/Performers:

ISMAELE, *figliuol prodigo* - Francesco Angelelli [S]

ELICIDIA, *madre d'Ismaele, e moglie di* - Giovanni Battista Longarini [S]

NADABBO, *padre d'Isamele, e di* - Giuseppe Tavani [T]

SEMEI, *fratel maggiore del figliuol prodigo* - Daniele Spadolini [?]

CORO di Servi, e di Pastori

\*Printed libretto includes both the Italian text and a side-by-side Portuguese translation.

<sup>4</sup> "Domingo 2 do corrente mez d'Abril na sala Nobre do Real Theatro de *S. Carlos* se ha de executar pela ultima vez a Oratoria da Paixão, cuja Musica he do célebre Mestre de Capella *João Paisiello*: os Bilhetes se venderão no mesmo Theatro."

<sup>5</sup> The libretto notes that the music was entirely new and was composed by Longarini, a singer-composer of the Royal Chapel ("La Musica è tutta nuova del Sig. Gio. Battista Longarini, Virtuoso della Camera di Sua Maesta Fedelissima.")

## 1799

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**March 3**

***Psalm Miserere***

Composer: Anonymous<sup>6</sup>

MS: N/A

Librettist: Anonymous

Libretto: I-Rsc

Performers:

    Girolamo Crescentini [S]

    Domenico Caporalini [S]

    Giovanni Zamperini [S]

    Giuseppe Tavani [B]

*Real Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon*

**Lent**

***Giudizio di Salomone, oratorio sacro***

Composer: Antonio Puzzi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Giuseppe Caravita

Libretto: I-Rsc

Other source:

Personages/Performers:

    SALOMONE - Giuseppe Capranica [S]

    RACHELE - Francesco Angelelli [S]

    SOEME - Giovanni Zamperini [S]

    ADORAM - Giuseppe Tavani [B]

    NATAN - Ubaldo Lunati [?]

## 1802

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<sup>6</sup> Cranmer, following Benevides, suggests that the work could have been Jommelli's *Requiem* (*Opera in Portugal*, 2:260).



*Real Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon*

**Lent**

***Debora e Sisara, dramma sacro***

Composer: Pietro Guglielmi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Carlo Sernicola

Libretto: N/A

Source: Cranmer, *Opera in Portugal*, 2:269 (citing Ruders).

## 1804

*Real Teatro de São Carlos (Salão Nobre), Lisbon*

**Lent**

***La morte di Saulle, oratorio sacro***

LA MORTE DI SAULLE / ORATORIO SACRO PER MUSICA / DA CANTARSI /  
NELLA GRAN SALA / NEL REGIO TEATRO DI S. CARLO / NELLA QUARESIMA  
DELL' ANNO 1804. / LISBONA. M.DCCCIV. / NELLA STAMPERIA DI SIMONE  
TADDEO FERREIRA.

Composer: Gaetano Andreozzi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Giuseppe Caravita

Libretto: P-Ln, I-Rsc\*

Personages/Performers:

SAULLE - Domenico Mombelli [T]

GIONATA - Giuseppe Naldi [T, primo buffo]

MICOL - N. N.

DAVIDE - Maria Ester Mombelli [S, prima donna]

ACHIMELECCO, *Sacerdote* - Ludovico Olivieri [B]

ABNER - Filippo Senesi [?]

\*Printed libretto includes both the Italian text and a side-by-side Portuguese translation.

## 1805

*Real Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon*

**Summer**

***La distruzione di Gerusalemme, dramma per musica***

Composer: Pietro Guglielmi

MS: N/A

Librettist: S. A. Sografi

Libretto: P-Ln, I-Rsc

Personages/Performers:

SEMIRA - Angelica Catalani [S]

NABUCCODONOSOR - Pietro Mattucci [*primo uomo, opera seria*]

SEDECIA - Domenico Mombelli [T]

NABALLE - Orsola Palmini

GEREMIA - Ludovico Olivieri [B]

RABSACE - Gaetano Neri

MANASSE - Pietro Bonini

## 1806

*Real Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon*

**Summer**

***Debora e Sisara, dramma serio***

Composer: Pietro Guglielmi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Sernicola

Libretto: P-Ln, I-Rsc

Other source:

Personages/Performers:

DEBORA - Marianna Sessi [Mezzo Soprano]

BARAC - Ludovico Olivieri [B]

GIAELE - Costanza Banti

SISARA - Domenico Mombelli [T]

ALCIMO - Eufemia Eckart [S]

ARASPE - Giovanni Olivetti

## 1807

*Real Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon*

**Lent**

***Saulle*, dramma sacro**

SAULLE / DRAMMA SACRO / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL REGIO TEATRO / DI / S. CARLO / NELLA QUARESIMA DELL' ANNO 1807. / IN BENEFIZIO / DI DOMENICO MOMBELLI. / LISBONA. M.DCCCXVII. / NELA [sic] STAMPERIA DI SIMONE TADDEO FERREIRA.

Composer: Andreozzi

MS: N/A

Librettist: F. Salfi

Libretto: P-Ln, I-Rsc

\*Other persons involved in the production (cited in libretto): Giovanni Chiari (Painter and Scene Architect); Teodoro Bianchi (Stage Machinery); Francesco das Chagas (Costumes).

Personages/Performers:

SAULLE - Domenico Mombelli [T]

DAVIDDE - Eufemia Eckart [S]

MICOLE - Marianna Scaramelli

GIONATA - Costanza Banti

ACHIMELECCO - Giuseppe Tavani [B]

ABNER - Filippo Senesi

**B. UNKNOWN CONTEXT, LOCATION, AND/OR DATE**

## C. 1750

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE<sup>7</sup>

**Unknown Date**

***Giuseppe Riconosciuto, Oratorio***

Composer: Gaetano Maria Schiassi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

Other sources: I-Bc, I.004.023, I.004.024 [Letters to Padre Martini]

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**Unknown Date**

***La Passione di Gesù Christo, Oratorio***

Composer: Gaetano Maria Schiassi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

Other sources: I-Bc, I.004.023, I.004.024, I.004.026, I.004.028 [Letters to Padre Martini]

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**Unknown Date**

***Gioas, Rè di Giuda, Oratorio***

Composer: Gaetano Maria Schiassi

MS: N/A

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

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<sup>7</sup> For these three sources, Schiassi's letters note that he was currently composing the works for performance, but it is not clear whether they were actually performed.

Other sources: I-Bc, I.004.023, I.004.024, I.004.026, I.004.028 [Letters to Padre Martini]

## 1763

*"Real Teatro da Corte" [Lisbon]* (Marques, *Cronologia*, 101)

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**[March 31]**

*L'Isacco, figura del Redentore*, [Oratorio]

Composer: Luciano Xavier dos Santos

MS: P-La, 48-III-5/6

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

Music manuscript score title page: "ISACO/ Figura del Redentore/ Parte prima/ Musica/ Fatta, e Dedicata a sua Majestá Fedelissima/ D. Maria Vitoria Regina di Portugallo/ Algarve &. &. &. / per suo piu umile vasallo/ Luciano Saverio di Santi / L'anno 1763."

Personages (MS, fol. 19r):

ABRAMO [T]

ISACCO [S]

GAMARI, *Compagna d'Isacco* [S]

ANGELO [S]

CORO DI SERVI [SATB]

CORO DI PASTORI [SATB]

## C. 1760s

*Unknown Location*<sup>8</sup>

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**Unknown Date**

<sup>8</sup> The three Avondano oratorios cited here—*Morte d'Abel*, *Gioas*, and *L'Isacco*—were produced in Hamburg, Germany, in the 1760s, and the manuscript scores remained preserved in German libraries. As Yordanova suggests, the works might also have been performed in Portugal—a hypothesis supported by the fact that parts of the works exist in manuscript score in Portugal (an aria from *Gioas*, for instance, remains in manuscript at P-VV). Another oratorio by Avondano—*Il voto di Jefte*—was performed in Lisbon in 1771 at the private assembly of L. G. Pientzenauer (see Chapter 3).

***Morte d'Abel, oratorio***

Composer: Pedro Antonio Avondano  
 MS: D-B, Mus. ms. 931.

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: See Yordanova, "Contributo para o estudo do oratório em Portugal."

Personages:

ABEL [S]  
 CAINO [S]  
 EVA [S]  
 ANGEL [A]  
 ADAMO [B]

*Unknown Location*

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**Unknown Date*****Gioas, Rè di Giuda, oratorio***

Composer: Pedro Antonio Avondano  
 MS: D-B, Mus. ms. 930.

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

Personages:

GIOAS [S]  
 SEBIA [S]  
 ATHALIAH [S]  
 MATAN [A]  
 ISMAELE [T]  
 GIOJADA [B]

*Unknown Location*

UNCERTAIN PERFORMANCE

**Unknown Date*****L'Isacco, figura del redentore, oratorio***

Composer: Pedro Antonio Avondano

MS: D-SWI, Mus. ms. 794.

Librettist: Metastasio

Libretto: N/A

## 1772/1773

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

**Unknown Date**

***Adamo, ed Eva, dramma sacro***

1773 Printed Libretto Title Page:

ADAMO, ED EVA: / DRAMMA SACRO, / POSTO IN MUSICA / DAL SIGNOR /  
PIETRO ANTONIO AVONDANO, / *Virtuoso di Camera di S. M. F.* / IN LISBONA /  
PRESSO ANTONIO RODRIGUES GAGLIARDO, / Stampatore della Regia Curia  
Censoria. / MDCCLXXIII. / *Con licenza della stessa Curia.*

Composer: Pedro Antonio Avondano

MS: N/A

Librettist: Anonymous

Libretto: I-Rsc [1772], P-Cug [1773]

Personages:

ADAMO

EVA

ANGELO DI GIUSTIZIA

ANGELO DI MISERICORDIA

## 1774

*Unknown Venue, Lisbon*

**March 4**

***Ester, oratorio***

ESTER / ORATORIO / A CINQUE VOCI / DA CANTARSI IN LISBONA / IL  
GIORNO 4. DI MARZO DELL'ANNO 1774. / LISBONA / NELLA STAMPERIA  
REALE. / *Con Licenza del Regio Tribunal Censorio.*

Composer: Antonio Sacchini

MS: N/A<sup>9</sup>

Librettist: Anonymous

Libretto: P-Ln

Personages/Performers:\*

ASSUERO [S]

ESTER [S]

MARDOCHEO [T]

AMANNO [B]

TARSE [A]

\*No performers are included in the Lisbon libretto, though the first performance of the work in Rome featured Gioanino [Giovanni?] Ripa—an Italian singer of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon from 1770.

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<sup>9</sup> No manuscript score for a Lisbon performance could be located, though Sacchini's original music is preserved elsewhere. Sacchini wrote the work for its first performance at the Vallicella oratory in Rome on March 17, 1768. See Antonio Sacchini, *Ester*, vol. 22, *Italian Oratorio, 1650–1800*, ed. Joyce Johnson (New York: Garland, 1986) for a facsimile edition.